At a crossroads : social sciences and the novel in Peru; parallel readings of 'Todas las sangres' by Jose Maria Argvedas.

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At a Crossroads: Social Sciences and the Novel in Peru.

Parallel Readings of *Todas las sangres*

by José María Arguedas

Thesis Submitted by Melisa Moore

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Abstract

This thesis highlights some of the ways in which José María Arguedas, as both writer and anthropologist, explores the nature of identity and cultural interaction in the Andes, starting from the premise that neither literary nor anthropological discourses on their own provide a sufficient epistemic base for him in this endeavour. The merging of anthropology and literature in Arguedas' work means that the reader must adopt an interdisciplinary approach, working within interlocking frameworks just as the author did. By juxtaposing comparative social scientific material, three of Arguedas' ethnographic studies (including his anthropological thesis) and the novel *TLS*, and by placing these within a framework of historicist and archetypalizing discourses, akin to Bakhtin's notion of the 'chronotope', some of the epistemological and thematic convergences between Arguedas' anthropological and literary work are explored. Points of entry have been established by focusing on ethnicity and land-labour configurations and their bearing on local systems of stratification.

Chapters One and Two attempt to unravel some of the ambiguities of ethnicity by studying nomenclatures in social scientific material and *TLS*, and their association with increasingly more plural land and labour relations. As ethnic identities are negotiated alongside land and labour relations, protagonists emerge with pivotal roles in a socio-economic landscape profoundly transformed by the expansion of roads, markets and migration. Chapters Three and Four examine the key roles of two of these characters, the *cholo* and the abused domestic servant, and their contribution to an indigenous discourse of resistance. When linked to an Andean symbolic discourse which gathers pace in a framework of diachronism, these figures come both to represent a community suffering from 'cosmic solitude' and to open up ways of re-activating the sources necessary for cultural continuity. In the final chapter, the relationship between anthropology and literature is once again taken up and some thematic links between *TLS* and Arguedas' other novels are mapped out.

(Note: *TLS* denotes *Todas las sangres*)

Contents

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This thesis would never have been written without the help of a number of people. Firstly, I would like to thank the British Academy for granting me a Three-Year Postgraduate Studentship and for generously funding my trip to Peru in July 1995.

Initial inspiration to look at the social scientific context of Arguedas' work came from the lectures on "Indian and Peasant Politics" for the MA in Latin American Studies at ILAS in London, between October and December 1993, particularly those on the Andean region given by Olivia Harris. It was not until I went to Peru for a conference on Arguedas in November 1994, however, that my methodology began to take shape. I adopted an interdisciplinary approach after meeting a number of Peruvian social scientists and literary critics. Amongst these, I would like to thank: Nelson Manrique, Rodrigo Montoya, Gonzalo Portocarrero and Miguel Angel Huamán, all associated with the DESCO and SUR groups which organized the conference, and later Manuel Larrú and Jesus Huamán at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

During my second trip to Peru, from July to December 1995, Maruja Martínez from SUR gave me access to the Centre's library and to some of Flores Galindo's unpublished bio-bibliographical work on Arguedas; Carmen Pinilla and Guillermo Rochabrún, at the Catholic University, spoke to me about Arguedas' ambivalent relationship with social scientists, and Juan Ossio introduced me to Luis Figueroa, whose film *Yawar fiesta* I saw later that year. I would also like to thank the librarians at the Catholic University, National Library, French Institute and Riva Agüero Institute. At the latter, I am grateful to Mildred Merino de Zela for giving me a personal testimony of Arguedas and showing me her collection of newspaper articles and letters. In addition, I would like to thank those who made my time in Lima so memorable: Juan José Salmón, Ricardo Montero, Pepe Borda, Gerardo Angulo, Gonzalo for inviting me to see a "yawar fiesta" in Apurímac, and Luis Rebaza-Soraluz and Larisa Chaddick for accompanying me there. I would also like to thank Luis for introducing me to many of his colleagues in Lima. Above all, I am indebted to Carmen Salmón who provided me with a home and whose warmth and energy filled me with a love of her country.

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This thesis is dedicated to my family, Mari, Alan and Tristana, particularly my mother, Mari, for her generosity and unwavering support throughout the years.

Abbreviations and editions of primary texts

Todas las sangres (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1985): abbreviated to *TLS*
Las comunidades de España y del Perú (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1968a)
Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975)
¿He vivido en vano? Mesa redonda sobre Todas las sangres, 23 de junio de 1965 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1985)
Mesa redonda sobre Todas las sangres (unpublished transcription by Guillermo Rochabrún S., Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1991)
Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos (Lima: Latinoamericana Editores, 1986a)

Other novels by Arguedas

Agua y otros cuentos indígenas (Lima: Editorial Milla Batres, 1974): abbreviated to *Agua*
Yawar fiesta (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977): abbreviated to *YF*
Diamantes y pedernales (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1975): abbreviated to *DP*
Los ríos profundos (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1973): abbreviated to *RP*
El sexto (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1979): abbreviated to *ES*
Amor mundo y todos los cuentos (Lima: F. Moncloa Editorial, 1967): abbreviated to *AM*
El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo (Madrid: ALLCA XX/Ediciones Unesco, Colección Archivos, 14, 1990): abbreviated to *EZ*

Page numbers following quotes refer to these editions. All other sources are cited in the footnotes and bibliography. All italicizing is my own.

Los límites de cada período no son muy precisos. Pero en el Perú éste es un defecto común a casi todos los fenómenos y a casi todas las cosas. Hasta en los hombes rara vez se observa un contorno neto, un perfil categórico. Todo aparece siempre un poco borroso, un poco confuso.

José Carlos Mariátegui

Yo puedo decirles con toda autoridad ahora que el Perú es realmente uno de los países más complejos, más profundos del mundo: la antigüedad de Europa, toda la historia de Europa, la antigüedad de América y toda la historia de América, están aquí tratando de confundirse en un río, en una síntesis que logrará alcanzarse al mismo tiempo que nuestras regiones diferentes mantendrán estilos diferentes.

José María Arguedas

Es difícil separar al Arguedas etnólogo del Arguedas novelista, y a ambos del personaje real...Desde luego, sus relatos no nos servirán para aproximarnos necesariamente al país real, sino al país vivido y sentido desde una biografía. La realidad social vista desde el mundo interior, desde un alma particularmente sensible que quiere trazar un mapa, definir un territorio para encontrar una ubicación allí.

Alberto Flores Galindo

Introduction

In *La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú*, written in 1950, Arguedas makes an impassioned defence of his literary position and self-consciously distances himself from *indigenista* currents. In emotive terms he describes his aim to stir a powerful image of the *sierra* in the minds of his readers: '¡Describir la vida de aquellas aldeas, describirla de tal modo que su palpitación no fuera olvidada jamás, que golpeara como un río en la conciencia del lector!'[1] Conveying an image which has transcendental importance to him thus forms the basis of his poetic mission. Memory, or 'testimonio',[2] plays a key role in this aim to describe an experience all the more 'real' because he has lived it: 'los rostros de los personajes estaban claramente dibujados en mi memoria, vivían con exigente realidad, caldeados por el gran sol...¿Qué otra literatura podía hacer entonces, y aún ahora, un hombre nacido y formado en las aldeas del interior?'[3] Memory and personal experience, or 'testimonio', are also now indispensable for creating an image of reality which will mark the reader profoundly. The boundaries between Arguedas' epistemic systems, namely anthropology and literature, begin to shift in this endeavour.

A parallel reading of Arguedas' anthropological studies and literary work shows a methodological and thematic overlap between the two forms of knowledge from the early 1950s on, accentuated after 1958 with the publication of *RP*. If Arguedas initially chose a literary path, the decision to study anthropology in the 1950s[4] marks a temporary shift in that course, but one which would ultimately complement subsequent literary development (Murra 1986, 8). If we are to view Arguedas' output of novels as comprising two main blocks, the first beginning and ending in 1935 and 1941 (*Agua*-*YF*)

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[1] 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', *Mar del Sur* (Lima), 9 (1950), 66-72 (repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (p. 169)).

[2] The concept of 'testimonio' runs through Arguedas' writings on his own literary production, such as *La literatura como testimonio y como una contribución* (Arguedas 1966), but it also became one of the issues debated at the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* (Arguedas 1986a) and the *Mesa redonda sobre Todas las sangres* (Arguedas 1985), explored in Chapters One and Three. Whilst it is rooted in a literary tradition of realism or empiricism, it should not be confused with the overtly politicized genre of 'testimonio' which originated in Cuba in the early 1960s. Fermín del Pino (1995, 67) has argued that it is Arguedas' desire to represent faithfully what he had experienced, that links his anthropology and literature: 'él quería ser literato de su pueblo, por las mismas razones que antropólogo de su pueblo, es decir, para reflejarlo fielmente.' This, in fact, echoes much of what Carmen María Pinilla (1994) has recently revealed about the complementary nature of Arguedas' two careers.

[3] Op. cit., 169.

[4] The exact date of Arguedas' involvement in this field is 1946 when he matriculates in the newly formed Institute of Ethnology at San Marcos University. It is not, however, until the 1950s that he undertakes his more extensive ethnographic research and not until 1957 that he graduates in ethnology (Fell 1990, 269-274).

respectively, and the second running from 1958-1969 (*RP-EZ*), a seventeen year gap between the two becomes evident and one which Arguedas regarded as his 'sterile' period (Murra 1986, 8). It is during this time, however, that Arguedas takes up anthropology and substitutes major literary production with incisive ethnographic analysis and prolific journalistic writing. The literary activity after this period, which includes the publication of his anthropological thesis in 1968 and *TLS* in 1964 can, therefore, be seen as a coalescence of literary and anthropological elements previously worked out in a preliminary and largely separate form.[5] As Arguedas' literary techniques develop, particularly his use of language from *RP* onwards,[6] so do his thematic concerns which reveal a desire to widen the socio-cultural framework of his novels without forfeiting close ethnographic detail.[7] This is achieved through a method developed in his thesis and later worked into his novels, namely comparative or social anthropology,[8] translating into a literary technique which may be termed imaginative conflation.

Avoiding an ahistorical and essentialist description of rural communities in Spain and Peru in the late 1950s by juxtaposing the two and tracing the lines of continuity between them to pre-Hispanic times, Arguedas reveals a defiant attitude to the temporal and spatial frameworks determining the nature of anthropological research at the time. Whilst the latter tended to focus on one community at a time and the methodological stance was mainly Positivist in orientation, with indigenous communities ultimately seen to be doomed to extinction by processes of modernization, Arguedas presents a non-linear picture of interconnected cultural markers evoking the compatibility or simultaneity of different temporal and spatial elements. This, as many anthropologists in the field of Andean studies have recently begun to emphasize,[9] led to a reliance on qualities such as imagination, interpretation and description, which in the

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[5] Actually, as Roberto Paoli reveals, both *RP* and *YF* also reflect parallels with the anthropological thesis (1985, 206).

[6] For more on the development of Arguedas' linguistic devices in conjunction with his anthropological work, see William Rowe, 'Arguedas: El narrador y el antropólogo frente al lenguaje', *Revista Iberoamericana*, 49 (1983), 97-109.

[7] Again, John V. Murra highlights this point about the wider socio-cultural dimension of Arguedas' novels as he undertakes ethnographic research (1986, 9). This is reiterated by Alberto Flores Galindo (1992, 20-22; 38).

[8] Fermín del Pino believes Arguedas was influenced in this by François Bourricaud and François Chevalier both of whom had espoused this approach to social scientific research (1995, 40). John V. Murra also makes this point (1986, 10).

[9] See John V. Murra (1986), Jesús Contreras (1986) and Rodrigo Montoya (1995).

the break up of communal labour ties. Arguedas observes that the ensuing tendency towards socio-economic stratification and individualism is thus a response to social change not a resistance to it, countering what many anthropologists have sustained about peasant communities, namely that they are insular and isolationist. Furthermore, by revealing the coexistence of certain traditional institutions, such as communal land and labour ties and forms of local government, and new strategies oriented towards a capitalist market, Arguedas reveals the capacity of a community to selectively retain certain practices whilst adapting to new realities.[12]

Comparing towns in Zamora with those in the southern Peruvian *sierra* such as Puquio and Huancayo, Arguedas reveals some of the structural continuities between the Spanish peasant community and the Andean *ayllu*. The ability detected in both Spanish and Andean communities to respond to changing times, or more specifically market forces, despite geographic and economic remoteness, reflects much of what he had previously perceived and written about in the valley of Mantaro in Peru in the early 1950s[13] and to a certain extent announces what he will next set out to represent in a literary form. In many ways, therefore, Arguedas' doctoral thesis can be seen as a pivotal text in which he consolidates his previous use of anthropology as an epistemic tool (Fermín del Pino 1995, 47) and introduces literary elements which will be worked out in his subsequent novels (Manrique 1995a, 89). The focus on Zamora, one of Spain's most remote provinces at the time, may also have encouraged him to use the southern Peruvian *sierra* (Ayacucho/Apurímac) as the setting for *TLS*, since it too was seen to be geographically and socio-economically marginalized.

The anthropological studies of the valley of Mantaro and the market of Huancayo[14] in the central Andes between 1951 and 1955, reveal Arguedas' early tendency to fuse anthropological investigation with literary elements since the Mantaro

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12 This of course counters Mario Vargas Llosa's (1978) notion of Arguedas' work representing an 'utopía arcaica', sealed off from the passage of time. His most recent work on Arguedas reiterates this idea (1996). Jesús Contreras, however, opts for a less narrow reading, arguing that Arguedas takes a more processual view by situating indigenous communities in rather than outside temporal frameworks (1986, 18).

13 'Evolución de las comunidades indígenas. El valle del Mantaro y la ciudad de Huancayo, un caso de fusión de culturas no comprometida por la acción de las instituciones de origen colonial', *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima), 26 (1957), 78-151 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 80-147). This study was undertaken between 1951 and 1955 (Manrique 1995a, 81) and published in 1957.

14 *Estudio etnográfico de la feria de Huancayo* (Lima: Oficina Nacional de Planeamiento y Urbanismo, 1957); repr. in *Dos estudios sobre Huancayo*, by José María Arguedas (Huancayo: Universidad Nacional del Centro del Perú, 1977).

interethnic relations hitherto submerged by the *indigenista* Indian-*criollo* dichotomy.[19] As Arguedas had pointed out in an earlier essay: 'en lugares como Ayacucho y Huaraz, pueden encontrarse mestizos apenas diferenciados del indio y del tipo que podríamos denominar representativo del hombre asimilado por entero a la cultura occidental...Es ésta una realidad innegable, por ejemplo, en las provincias de Jauja y Huancayo, ya mencionadas, y en las de Calca y Urubamba, del Cuzco...En ambas regiones, los indios han sido arrojados a las zonas altas; las aldeas y ciudades del valle están pobladas por mestizos.'[20] In fact, the focus on the *mestizo* now introduces and problematizes a whole Andean nomenclature, ranging from *indio*, *misti* and *vecino* to *cholo* and *ex indio*, reflecting the nuances of modern ethnic relations in the Andes. The diversity rather than homogeneity of *mestizaje* can, therefore, be displayed, whilst Arguedas' substitution of the Indian with the *mestizo* overturns the *indigenistas'* schematic thesis: 'lo querían tal como está, puro, conservado, "puro" por consecuencia de su miseria...romanticismo que demuestra muy poca fe en el objeto amado.'[21]

A close reading of sociological and anthropological material on the Andean region has revealed the enormous disparities between socio-economic and cultural configurations in the area. I have initially chosen to focus on ethnicity as a means of exploring some of the ways in which Arguedas, as both a writer and an anthropologist, was able to convey the nature of identity in this context. The emergence of ethnicity as a sociological and anthropological concern may be equated with the advent of post-colonialism when the internal asymmetry of social relations came into full view. Societies, previously homogenized under a colonial ethic of domination and dependence, were now revealed to be highly stratified. In popular discourse ethnic categories are often confused with racial ones, but sociologists would agree that racial criteria are too difficult to establish with any precision. Definitions of the ethnic group, therefore, range from prioritizing social, cultural, or class dimensions. In fact, studies on ethnicity have shown so much variance between sociologists that the subject has become

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[19] It also avoids the approach of Uriel García (1973) whose notion of the 'nuevo indio' is based on a concept of *mestizaje* as synthesis.

[20] José María Arguedas, 'El complejo cultural en el Perú y el primer congreso de peruanistas. (Lo indio, lo occidental y lo mestizo. Los prejuicios culturales, la segregación social y la creación artística)', *América Indígena* (Mexico City), 12, 2 (1952), 131-139 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 1-8 (p. 3)).

[21] José María Arguedas, 'El libro *Canto de amor* y el fanatismo indigenista', *El Comercio, Suplemento Dominical* (Lima), 17 June 1956, pp. 3; 11.

something of a definitional minefield, both terminologically and ideologically. Unfortunately, many social scientists end up separating the different dimensions of ethnicity out as though they were distinct phenomenon. In other words, rather than taking a hybrid approach to ethnicity, they end up reinforcing dichotomies such as those between culture and class or culture and society.[22] Viewing an Indian as either a peasant, a *comunero*, or a member of a particular linguistic group such as Quechua or Spanish, for example, can be misleading in a mixed cultural and economic context such as the Andean region in which he frequently transcends these taxonomic divides.[23]

My focus on ethnicity arises from the belief that a study of social stratification in the southern Andes cannot, therefore, rely solely on racial, class, social or cultural factors, but often involves an element of each. My aim has been to show that Arguedas takes a distinct approach to ethnic identity, avoiding an essentialist outlook by presenting it as contextual and relational. It is also seen as processual since it is contingent on temporal, as well as spatial, elements. The social and economic changes in Peru in the late 1950s and 1960s, when *TLS* was set, namely a shift away from an agro-led economy to greater industrialization on the coast and large-scale internal migration, led to the emergence of new sectors which profoundly destabilized previous socio-cultural or ethnic relations. I have attempted to show that Arguedas conveys these changes through his use of a nomenclature which heightens the cultural ambiguities of identity rather than obscures them behind a rhetoric of *mestizaje*. In other words I have tried to show how Arguedas dismantles the traditional *indigenista* thesis based on the Indian-*criollo* dichotomy, but also avoids a potentially reductionist approach incarnated in some discourses of *mestizaje*. This is done by evoking a network of interlocking socio-cultural groups and by using non-race and non-class specific terminology such as *vecino*, *misti*, *cholo* and *ex indio*. By employing these ethnic categories, all evoking different levels of socio-cultural interaction, Arguedas is able to reveal some of the complexities and subtleties of social relations and identities embedded in Andean nomenclatures and to pluralize the discourse of *mestizaje*.

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[22] This in fact is what one leading exponent of ethnicity theory in the Andes, Pierre Van den Berghe (1974), does as he distinguishes, in a rather schematic way, class from socio-cultural dimensions of identities.

[23] Rodrigo Montoya (1980a) reveals the heterogeneity of socio-cultural and economic conditions in the southern Andes. For an example of combining different occupations, such as agriculture with artisan work, see Mirko Lauer (1978).

If the social sciences have tended to take a particularist approach to ethnic groups, isolating them within clear-cut territorial and cultural boundaries (Gose 1994, 20), Arguedas can be seen to run counter to this in *TLS*, breaking down anthropological categories to present a more fluid and transient image of identity. Furthermore, the focus on the *mestizo* and the cultural ambiguity of the latter is accentuated in a region experiencing the collapse of a colonial semi-feudal *hacienda* regime. These issues fit into a broad methodological framework. By revealing two discourses at play in *TLS*, those of historicism and archetypalism, I hope to show how Arguedas elaborates a hybrid discourse to fuse elements of his anthropological and literary works. The discourse of historicism, evoking a specific temporal and spatial framework and revealing the heterogeneity of the socio-economic and cultural system of the southern *sierra* in the early 1960s, and that of archetypalism, the creation and adherence to archetypes often through ritual modes of conduct, mutually sustain each other at a textual level. In other words, I have attempted to reveal that working within both anthropological and literary frameworks enables Arguedas to explore the nature of social life in an Andean context with precision and apportion paradigmatic dimensions to particular elements in it.

As can be witnessed in his prior anthropological work in Puquio[24] and the Mantaro valley, Arguedas' interest lies in groups which are able to adjust to changing socio-economic and cultural traditions. The ability to selectively retain certain practices whilst adapting to new realities ensures cultural survival and contributes to the forging of new cultural systems. The latter enable actors to renegotiate their identities and build alliances with previous antagonistic groups, for by acting on or interacting with each other, these groups establish reciprocal ties. Arguedas witnessed the ability for selective assimilation and recreation in the skills of *mestizo* artisans such as don López Antay or musicians such as Raúl García.[25] By the end of his life these examples became an intrinsic part of a paradigmatic conception of non-acculturated *mestizaje*, or 'mutual acculturation', one with which Arguedas personally identified.[26] In broad terms, the

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[24] 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio', *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima), 25 (1956), 184-232 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 34-79).

[25] Chapter One focuses on these figures in closer detail.

[26] In his speech on receiving the 'Inca Garcilaso de la Vega' Prize (Lima, October 1968), Arguedas defines himself as: 'un individuo quechua moderno que, gracias a la conciencia que tenía del valor de su cultura, pudo ampliarla y enriquecerla con el conocimiento, la asimilación del arte creado por otros pueblos que

model or paradigm of coexistence and integration which Arguedas assembled from the Mantaro valley case (and in an incipient form, Sayago in Zamora) is posited against a semi-feudal and ethnically divided region (Ayacucho and Apurímac, the setting for *TLS*) and the disparities between them are explored.

The historicizing and archetypalizing discourses, as well as serving as literary techniques, correlate with different notions of time and history. I have taken Mikhail Bakhtin's (1994) concept of 'chronotopes' to characterize some of the spatial and temporal configurations in *TLS* and Arguedas' anthropological work. As Bakhtin emphasizes, space and time are inextricably linked and correspond to conceptual frameworks which structure narratives, thus may be historicized precisely. These narratives, therefore, become metaphors for particular ('historicized') cultural outlooks based on different space-time configurations. By contrasting the epic narrative chronotope with that of the novel (the nineteenth century Realist novel), Bakhtin reveals these different space-time patterns. The epic correlates with what may be termed a 'monochronic' view of time, where the past is 'absolute' and 'valorised' (or 'hierarchical') (Bakhtin 1994, 15). The novel, meanwhile, evokes a continuous view of history, 'a zone of direct contact with developing reality' (Bakhtin 1994, 39), which leads to an immanent future or an 'incomplete continuation of the past' which counterpoises the 'absolute past' of the epic (Bakhtin 1994, 40). The novel, therefore, gives voice to various interlocking chronotopes, thus it is 'dialogical' (Bakhtin 1994, 252), revealing and reproducing social, spatial and temporal heterogeneity. Ultimately, the epic chronotope is one of several chronotopes operating within the novel and is transformed through its contact with other chronotopes. The very dialogism of the novel may reveal why the latter, as opposed to ethnography, was a more appropriate vehicle for Arguedas, since the interlocking of chronotopes allows free rein to different discourses in a non-hierarchical manner. A chronotope, therefore, is a particular space-time configuration (corresponding with what I have termed 'historicizing' and 'archetypalizing' discourses) and a particular genre which embodies that chronotope (and/or others). I have found this theoretical model particularly useful since it allows me not only to debate different

dispusieron de medios más vastos para expresarse', in 'No soy un aculturado...', *Cultura y Pueblo* (La Casa de la Cultura, Lima), 15-16 (1969), 3 (repr. in *IV*, p. 256).

temporal and spatial frameworks within Arguedas' narrative, but the different mediums used by Arguedas to represent them. Since Arguedas' narrative is hybrid and multigeneric I have found this to be indispensable.

The duality between 'historicism' and 'archetypalism' can also be seen in the opposition between diachronic time, which evokes the development of a phenomenon through time (conjectural history) and synchronic time, where an event or phenomenon is not seen in relation to its antecedents. This duality was used in the 1930s by the French Annales School which espoused a 'history of mentalities' and whose heir in recent years has been Fernand Braudel with his notion of 'la longue durée' (1980, 25). The latter is concerned with the analysis of belief systems, examining the way people think, or the structures of their beliefs, as well as exploring their content.[27] This requires the historian to engage in the conceptual frameworks of his/her referents by investigating the metaphors and temporal categories which structure their thought. These often correspond to a different time-scale to that which the historian usually employs. Calling for historians to address both short and long-term historical developments, ultimately placing the former in the context of the latter, Braudel emphasizes the need to take an interdisciplinary approach by harnessing the social sciences to the study of history (1980, 18).

Braudel's approach may appear schematic since he constantly juxtaposes a history of 'gentle rhythms' ('la longue durée') with that of 'short, sharp, nervous vibrations' (1980, 3), or 'l' histoire événementielle' (1980, 27), but he tries to solve this by emphasizing the interlocking of these in a dialectical fashion (1980, 26). By focusing on the study of 'cycles', 'conjunctures' and 'intercycles' (1980, 29), one can differentiate between short (synchronic history) and long-time spans (diachronic history) and study the ways they intersect. This avowedly structuralist approach to historical research builds on Claude Lévi-Strauss' model of 'communication structures' (1993, 296), where cultural practices (myths and kinship ties, for example) are correlated with the unconscious analogic interplay of relations governing linguistic processes. This enables Braudel not only to trace the continuities and discontinuities between different time

27 See Peter Burke's definition in 'Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities', *History of European Ideas*, 7 (1986), 439-451.

scales or cycles, but to trace the development of phenomena over large tracts of time. That is, to locate and measure cycles and phenomena in time and through time.

This approach opens up the possibility of studying events which in some way 'transcend' history or, in Braudel's own words: 'events which continue to have violent repercussions whole centuries after they have occurred...men well above the general run of mankind, whether Jesus or Buddha or Mahomet, men who are equally of the *longue durée*' (1980, 196-197). By taking this temporal perspective, the historian enters into a conception of history and historiography governed by ritual and myth. This coincides with what Mircea Eliade has defined as a pre-Judaeo-Christian, or pre-Hegelian (1989, vii), outlook equated with archaic societies ascribing to 'Great Time' or a time regulated by archetypes (1989, vii). The premise that historical continuity and moral value derive from an original time, or the beginning of time, means that it is only through contact with the latter, which is elevated to a sacred plane, that human acts acquire meaning. This contact is established through repeated gestures (ritual) which imitate those assumed to have been made by a pantheon of gods and ancestors.[28] This concept of space-time as cyclical and sacred, correlates with the Bakhtinian epic chronotope in which the past is sealed off from the vagaries of historical development and becomes a fixed prototype for the present and future. In this sense, history is 'transcended', or time 'walled off' (Bakhtin 1994, 15), 'exceeded' (Braudel 1980, 210) and 'abolished' (Eliade 1989, 35).

It is through the imitative and repeated gestures of ritual that men come to acquire archetypal dimensions, that history transforms itself into myth. In other words, a historical figure equated with a hero of myth in the popular imagination, through an analogous mode of thinking, comes to incarnate that figure. The factual biography of the character ceases to be important, the mere fact that he is identified with an archetype suggests that he becomes one. A literary or fictitious element is, therefore, involved in the 'archetypalism' process (Eliade 1989, 38).[29] In addition to this, the transformation of

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[28] Spatial and temporal elements are inextricably linked in this concept since the locus of ritual comes to represent that where the original act is believed to have been performed, regarded as the 'centre' (Eliade 1989, 20), just as the time in which it is set is believed to coincide with that of original time.

[29] This is confirmed by Bakhtin when talking about epic time and tradition (1994, 16). The definition of the epic (myth) as a 'genre' (or 'chronotope') governed by 'a commonly held evaluation' and 'point of view' (1994, 16), coincides with Eliade when he explains that: 'the structures by which it functions are different: categories instead of events, archetypes instead of historical personages' (1989, 43).

real or historical events and figures ensures their survival in popular memory over long periods of time. This process, however, can also be viewed the other way around, as Julio Caro Baroja indicates in his study of legends: 'el proceso de acumulación de anécdotas tiende a darnos un arquetipo, un modelo más claro e inteligible para el grupo. Pero, con frecuencia, lo que hace es encubrirnos a un ser real mucho más importante y atrayente' (1991a, 39). The mixing of real and 'Great Time', fact and fiction, 'historicism' and 'archetypalism', therefore, culminates in a 'dialectic' (Eliade 1989, 147) or 'dialogism' (Bakhtin 1994), but one which ultimately enables the popular imagination to 'forget' temporal concerns and get on with the task of living.[30]

The merging of anthropology and literature means that the reader of *TLS* must adopt a interdisciplinary approach him/herself, working within differing yet interlocking frameworks just as the author did. The use of comparative anthropological material by Rodrigo Montoya and Jorge A. Flores Ochoa, or Olivia Harris and Peter Gose, enables a greater awareness not only of the constitutive parts of Andean culture but of what Arguedas was trying to achieve, namely viewing Andean culture from within, much as a participant-observer. Anthropological discourses in Peru meanwhile often run into other academic realms such as a sociology and history. The work of Peruvian intellectuals such as Aníbal Quijano, Alberto Flores Galindo, Nelson Manrique and Gonzalo Portocarrero and others such as François Bourricaud, Henri Favre, Eric Hobsbawm and Irene Silverblatt, enables the reader to explore some of the categories employed in the analysis of Peruvian cultural realities. I shall examine, for example, how social scientists tackled the problem of ethnicity in the 1970s, when it became evident that the old categories were no longer viable, and how Arguedas may have been a precursor to this process of re-evaluation. In the late 1960s and 1970s, the emergence of a corpus of theory on ethnicity, led by François Bourricaud, Aníbal Quijano and Pierre Van den Berghe, arose to address this issue. In the literary field, meanwhile, studies by critics such as Alberto Escobar, Antonio Cornejo Polar, Roland Forgues and William Rowe have had as their objective the reappraisal of Arguedas as a non-*indigenista* (or *neo-indigenista*) writer. In short, Arguedas cannot be read in isolation, not only because his

[30] Benedict Anderson (1991, 204-206) elaborates the notion of 'collective amnesias' to explain the selective rewriting of historical events by popular culture, a process which enables it to contend with large-scale trauma.

writing is so heterogeneous, but because his career as a novelist and anthropologist spans thirty-four years (1935-1969) of Peruvian intellectual history.

Arguedas' work, therefore, must be read in the context of methodological and theoretical positions of his time and later. It soon becomes evident that Arguedas often ran counter to these in his lifetime, particularly after the publication of *TLS*. The *Mesa redonda sobre Todas las sangres* (Arguedas 1985) and some of the issues raised in the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* (Arguedas 1986a), highlight how by intersecting anthropology and literature and basing his narrative on an empirical and to a large extent intuitive knowledge of the Andean region, Arguedas defied hegemonic academic discourses of the time.[31] The polemic with both literary critics and sociologists after the publication of *TLS* reveals just how wide the gulf between the writer and the predominant canons can be in the wake of the creative act. It is really only after his death in the 1970s, as new methodologies began to emerge, that Arguedas came to be better understood. It is only recently, in the late 1980s and 1990s, that social scientists and literary critics are beginning to link up the two main corpuses of his work, namely anthropology and literature.[32]

If one takes the case of *indigenista* literature, one is able to explore some of the prevailing notions on literature and the social sciences during Arguedas' time and ascertain where the boundaries between the two were drawn. In a country such as Peru, the need for reintegration after the Pacific war of the 1880s resulted in a wide-scale re-examination of social structures in relation with the Indian world. With a wave of migration to the coast in the 1920s and 1930s, society in the provinces became less polarized, whilst in the cities there was a higher level of socio-cultural ferment and interaction. This resulted in developments in theories on acculturation and transculturation in the social sciences and *indigenista* literature in the literary field. Manuel González Prada was one of the first to call for a national literature based on autochthonous themes and the native population. Arguing that the Pacific War had been

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[31] This has recently been explored by Carmen María Pinilla (1994) and Guillermo Rochabrún (1992).

[32] The conference in Lima in November 1994, the proceedings of which were later published as *Amor y fuego. José María Arguedas, 25 años después*, ed. by Maruja Martínez and Nelson Manrique (Lima: DESCO, 1995), was perhaps the first sustained dialogue on Arguedas' ethnography and its influence on his narrative work, and constituted something of a posthumous response to Flores Galindo's (1992) appeals that more academic attention be focused on this side of Arguedas' work. Flores Galindo had reminded his readers that Arguedas' anthropological production was almost as extensive as his literary output. *Horizonte Editorial* in Lima is about to publish five volumes of this anthropological work.

fought in large part by Indians who had little concept of nationhood, he proposed that literature redress the balance. From the restricted view of the Romantic Indianists such as Clorinda Matto de Turner, who attacked the symptoms rather than the causes, pointing the finger at the moral failings of the bourgeoisie and suggesting that the appointment of more enlightened officials might solve the Indian problem, to those influenced by Mariátegui, whose emphasis on the socio-economic context culminated in the view of the *ayllu* as a basis for Indian autonomy, the result was a heterogeneous and multifaceted literary genre. In the 1940s and 1950s, *indigenista* writers such as Ciro Alegría often fell prey to populist politics such as that espoused by APRA, which advocated education and racial miscegenation as a means to combat ethnic conflict.

If *indigenista* literature was for the most part misleading in its stereotyping of Indians as either noble savage prototypes, their world a rural Arcadia, or as degraded inhabitants of grandiose landscapes with no cultural history of their own, it was this external and ultimately 'false' and 'deformed' view of the Indian which propelled Arguedas to start writing (Arguedas 1986a, 40-41). His goal was to present a new kind of *comunero* Indian, based on those he had seen in Puquio, who was materially and above all spiritually self-sufficient. In an endeavour to redress the balance, therefore, Arguedas fused literature and ethnography, using interpolated native texts, such as songs or fragments of oral narrative, to explore the functioning of alternative mind-sets and assess the role of indigenous culture in modern society. In many ways, this makes his novels simultaneously transcend and reaffirm their *indigenista* mould, as Antonio Cornejo Polar suggests (1973, 21; 195; 261), quoting directly from Arguedas: 'la narrativa actual, que se inicia como *indigenista*, ha dejado de ser tal en cuanto abarca la descripción e interpretación del destino de la comunidad total del país, pero podría seguir siendo calificada de *indigenista* en tanto que continúa reafirmando los valores humanos excelsos de la población nativa.'[33] For the most part this means that Arguedas was to occupy a solitary position in the rigidly genre oriented field of literary production in Peru, his concept of literature deviating not only from the *indigenistas'*, but from many of his contemporaries such as Carlos Zavaleta, Sebastián Salazar Bondy and Mario Vargas

33 José María Arguedas, 'Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú', *Visión del Perú* (Lima), 5 (1970), 43-45 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 189-197 (p. 197)).

Llosa.[34] Newspaper articles by Arguedas and other writers about the chief concerns of the writer in Peru at the time illustrate this, particularly the polemic over Luis Felipe Angell's novel, *La tierra prometida*, published in 1958.[35]

By juxtaposing comparative anthropological, sociological and historical material, three of Arguedas' ethnographic studies and the novel *TLS*, and by placing these within a framework of historicist and archetypalizing 'chronotopes' or space-time discourses, I have attempted to explore some of the epistemological and thematic convergences between Arguedas' anthropological and literary work. Points of entry into the debate on identity and cultural interaction in the Andes have been the phenomenon of ethnicity, as mentioned, and the role of land and labour configurations in the formation of the system of stratification. Chapter One, therefore, focuses on the prevailing nomenclatures within ethnicity studies and the ways in which Arguedas works with them to highlight from within their often ambiguous usage and semantics. Revealing the relational and contextual nature of what are essentially ethnic that is, non-class or race specific, categories of identity, Arguedas is able to highlight the fluid boundaries between them, many characters shifting from *indio* to *mestizo* or *vecino* status according to situation and interlocutor. The ability to acquire a fluid and transient sense of identity without suffering acculturation or alienation is equated with the creative work of *mestizo* artisans from colonial and contemporary eras who were able to selectively retain cultural practices of their own whilst responding to changing times. These pivotal figures are placed by Arguedas within a diachronic line of spatial and temporal continuity and begin to acquire archetypal resonance.

Chapter Two, meanwhile, focuses on land and labour as defining principles of Andean identities and relations. These underpin much of the conflict in *TLS*, but also play a part in consolidating a new cultural system. The social structure of Andahuaylas (Apurímac) and Puquio (Ayacucho), two of the areas implicitly evoked in *TLS*, rests on the coexistence of *hacienda* and *minifundismo*, with groups stratified according to the amount of land owned, the way they farm their land and labour ties with the local

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[34] This can be seen, for example, in the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* (Arguedas, 1986a).

[35] Carmen María Pinilla (1994, 139-152) gives a detailed analysis of this. In some ways, these confrontations may be seen as a prelude to Arguedas' showdown with Cortázar in 1969. See 'Inevitable comentario a unas ideas de Julio Cortázar', *El Comercio, Suplemento Dominical* (Lima), 1 June 1969, p. 34 (repr. in *EZ*, pp. 411-413).

hacienda. My aim is to establish, therefore, that socio-cultural or ethnic stratification is to a large extent the result of specific land and labour configurations and that this can be seen in a concrete form in *TLS*, that is, after Arguedas has carried out field-work in Puquio, the Mantaro valley and Zamora.

The role of land and labour configurations can also be traced back to pre-Columbian days and the emergence of the *ayllu* as a socio-economic unit. Whilst the latter safeguarded collective rights over lands and resources, it was also highly stratified. The arrival of the Spanish and market forces accentuated class lines by endorsing the private ownership of land by *curacas* and *criollos*. The Indian peasantry, now organized into *reducciones* which broke up and incorporated previous *ayllus*, found their communal landholdings protected on condition that it pay taxes in produce (tribute) and labour (*mita*, in the mines and plantations). The ethnic status of the peasantry, therefore, was defined according to the type of land it had access to and its labour obligations. By placing these factors, land and labour configurations, within a context of diachronism, Arguedas is able to trace the emergence of long-term strategies of coping with change. These tactics culminate in a *convivencia* between Indians and *mistis* which, whilst flourishing in colonial times, comes under threat in the late Republican period when a second wave of *hacienda* expansion takes place in the southern *sierra* as demand for beef grows on the coast. Compounded by the rise of multinationals and their monopoly over land and human resources, these strategies, which had ensured the survival of the *ayllu* since pre-Hispanic times, begin to operate at a symbolic level in *TLS*.

The changing economic landscape, road links to Lima from the 1930s on, immigrants from Europe, the centralization of economic activity on the coast and the demand for beef, gradually leads to the demise of the oligarchy and the *hacienda* as the dominant unit of production in the *sierra*. It also contributes to the emergence of a floating community of entrepreneurial peasants with seasonal contacts with the coast and access to education. These often formed links with local *hacendados*, operating as intermediaries, acquiring a position of authority in the *hacienda* system and acting as catalysts for the radicalization of the peasantry in local areas. By the time Arguedas wrote *TLS*, the conditions in the southern *sierra* were such that not only could an entrepreneurial group of *comuneros* assume leadership, but it could do so with the

substantial support of the rural population. This is explored in Chapter Three which focuses on the emergence of Rendón Willka. As a *cholo* who represents a new consciousness from the coast, he enables Arguedas to explore some of the ambiguities of identity in a context of modernity and examine the bases for the development of an indigenous leadership. One of the ways in which Arguedas reveals this leadership potential, apart from Rendón's role in the defence of land, is through his organization of the *comuneros* into a work-force. Ritualistic work notions and the gradual acquisition of symbolic dimensions by Rendón contribute to messianic and millenarian discourses of resistance which have been long-standing in the Andes.

Chapter Four continues the exploration of traditional roles or modes of conduct as bases for resistance by examining the position of women in the novel. Patriarchal frameworks in *serrano* society are seen to fix women into a system of stratification where ethnicity provides some leverage (as evidenced in Chapter One). Models of femininity arise, as ethnicity is negotiated and defended, which paradoxically endorse traditional roles. I have detected that women in Arguedas' novel work within their given gender roles to debate alternative ones, combining long-standing strategies with new ones as they respond to social changes. Within this context, the role of *la kurku*, for example, can be historicized precisely, her marginalization resulting from a socio-economic position as domestic servant. When linked to a symbolic discourse through images such as *illa* and *wakcha*, or orphan, she begins to incarnate the experience of a community suffering from what Arguedas would term *la soledad cósmica*,[36] or Wachtel, the 'crisis of destructuration' (1977, 205). Together with this, she enacts the overcoming of this condition and the re-establishment of pre-Columbian *fuentes de alegría*[37] necessary for cultural continuity. At this level, *la kurku* restores a temporal link between contemporary and past realities which ensures continuity in the future. In the final chapter, attention is focused on the relationship between anthropology and literature in Arguedas' work, tracing some of the thematic convergences between *TLS* and his other novels, and ponders some questions for future research.

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[36] José María Arguedas, 'La soledad cósmica en la poesía quechua', *Idea, Artes y Letras* (Lima), 48-49 (1961a), 1-2.
[37] Ibid.

In his introduction to a collection of Arguedas' anthropological work, Angel Rama (1975, xxiv) illustrates the way art and social reality are inextricably linked for Arguedas by citing the latter's interest in the myth of *Inkarrí*. According to Rama, this myth is revelatory for Arguedas for whilst it apparently provides a totalizing view of an Andean social and cosmological universe, it has multiple meanings for those it represents which are directly related to their position in society. This coincides with Raymond Williams' (1961) concern to link aesthetic production (in the above case the myth represents a conceptual framework which has become aestheticized), with social processes and groups. Only by fusing literary techniques with social science, as Arguedas did, can this be appreciated.

This has been emphasized more recently by Flores Galindo (1992) who has called for a new conceptual and methodological framework with which to interpret Arguedas' writings. Tracing the confluences between literature and anthropology chronologically, he points out that it is really only after 1960 and the publication of *TLS* that the two begin to merge (1992, 22). He links this up with what Cornejo Polar detected as the 'proceso ampliatorio' (1973, 15)[38] evidenced in Arguedas' later writings. But whilst Cornejo Polar (1973, 20; 252-255) saw a widening of Arguedas' literary panorama with the expansion of communication networks and capitalism in the southern *sierra*, Flores Galindo emphasizes that it was the social sciences that sharpened Arguedas' perception of these changes and propelled him to extend his literary scope (1992, 20-22; 38).[39] The *misti-indio* dichotomy found in his early writings is transcended, therefore, as Arguedas reveals greater stratification within the ranks and the emergence of a new type of *comunero mestizo* (1992, 18-21). Flores Galindo equates this change of focus in Arguedas' work and the growing emphasis on cultural rather than social conflict, with what Arguedas saw in the field, particularly the Mantaro valley (1992, 38). The possibility of integration is thus increasingly seen in cultural terms.[40] As mentioned, the merger of anthropological and literary elements came under attack after the publication of *TLS*, since for social scientists and literary critics at the time, the concept of a novel embracing

[38] Or, in Roland Forgues' words, Arguedas' 'afán totalizante' (1979, 38).
[39] This has also been suggested by John Murra (1986).
[40] Nelson Manrique (1995a, 77-89) attributes this to the influence of North American Functionalist theory on Arguedas in the 1950s.

both discourses was unacceptable, each being seen to undermine the other. As such, the novel was seen as a double failure (Flores Galindo 1992, 23). It is only today that Arguedas' methodology may be seen as providing a new conceptual framework for rethinking Peruvian society: 'abrió la posibilidad de pensar de otra manera la sociedad peruana, mientras, en otros terrenos, las ciencias sociales permanecían en otros esquemas' (Flores Galindo 1992, 47).

The ability of a text to contain both scientific and non-scientific elements is taken for granted today, particularly in the social sciences, as ethnography is increasingly seen as a highly subjective affair. As James Clifford points out, all the 'predominant metaphors' (1986, 11) of anthropological research, participant-observation, data collection and transparent description, all presupposing a position on the outside and delineating clearly the boundaries between objectivity and subjectivity, have been broken down. Science is now seen as 'in, not above, historical and linguistic processes' (Clifford 1986, 2), its texts revealing the cultural constructedness of reality. Literary processes such as metaphor, rhetoric and narration, penetrate them and contribute to their interpretation. As such, 'the maker...of ethnographic texts cannot avoid expressive tropes, figures, and allegories that select and impose meaning as they translate it' (Clifford 1986, 7). What emerges, therefore, is a discursive 'poetics' (Clifford 1986, 12) where informants are 'co-authors', the ethnographer a 'scribe and archivist as well as interpreting observer' (Clifford 1986, 17). The boundaries between poetry and prose, subjectivity and objectivity, are blurred as each permeates the other. Arguedas' thesis is a good example of this type of 'reflexive ethnography' (Clifford 1986, 23), where a poetic discourse is interwoven with a comparative study of Zamora and southern Peru. This self-conscious poeticization is intermittently revealed when Arguedas reminds the reader of the porous divide between his literary and anthropological discourses. In fact, the confessional stance validates the thesis at another level, that of literature, and this is made clear from the outset (Arguedas 1968a, 5) and reiterated throughout (e.g. Arguedas 1968a, 251). By frequently inserting a personal tone (first person singular and plural, e.g. Arguedas 1968a, 24), to evoke memory and landscapes, and incorporating songs, testimonies and anecdotes (e.g. Arguedas 1968a, 58), to denote immediacy and the oral, Arguedas' account is highly idiosyncratic and intertextual. At times reading like

a travel log, with poetic interludes and digressions for social commentary, at others like a novel, making use of *costumbrista* elements, when depicting the inhabitants of Sayago, and descriptions which parallel Rulfo's evocation of Comala and Luvina,[41] when revealing Bermillo and La Muga's stifling religiosity, what emerges is a multivocal text in which discourses intersect in a Bakhtinian non-hierarchical manner.

One of the primary focuses of the thesis, as mentioned, is the system of stratification in Sayago and its relation to local land and labour configurations. At the same time, Arguedas traces its correspondence with that of Puquio and the Mantaro valley in the Andean region. Whilst Arguedas dwells more on the comparisons or structural continuities between the two regions, he repeatedly emphasizes one point of contrast. This is the issue of ethnicity which is absent in Zamora as it is to a large degree in the Mantaro area, but which prevails in the southern *sierra*. Thus when he ends his thesis with the words: 'en Sayago no existe el factor étnico diferenciante. El hecho de haber sido cercada y aislada la cultura indígena en la Colonia, y en la República hasta la tercera década del siglo xx, hizo que ella se mantuviera segregada, rigiéndose por valores distintos que los de los vecinos' (Arguedas 1968a, 346), Arguedas points to a question which has not been answered completely by the thesis. That Arguedas should then turn to the novel to address this issue suggests that the subject, cultural contact or conflict, not only has dramatic potential for him, but requires a different set of evaluative criteria.

The roles of intuition and imagination, whilst apologized and accounted for in the thesis, can now be considered indispensable for the elaboration of this theme in the novel, whilst one of the possible settings, an area in which he has not conducted extensive field-work but in which he was brought up, Apurímac, means that memory and personal experience, or 'testimonio', can also play a key role. A radical questioning of the structures of power and the possibility of their being undermined requires a more totalizing approach which only the novel can provide. Thus, whilst anthropological and literary discourses are inextricably linked in both genres, it is only in the novel that the full implications of this alliance come to the fore. To evoke a situation in the southern

41 Juan Rulfo, *Pedro Páramo y El llano en llamas* (Barcelona: Editorial Planeta, 1972).

sierra which differs from Spain in one important aspect, the question of ethnic domination, described in his thesis as: 'el tradicional poder y la potestad absolutos que el terrateniente y que aun el vecino pobre tiene todavía en la mayoría de las provincias andinas del Perú, para encarcelar, abofetear y disponer de la persona de los comuneros indios' (Arguedas 1968a, 191), Arguedas' choice of the medium of the novel seems particularly apt.

Chapter One: Mapping Ethnic Identities and Roles

i) Stratification and Nomenclature in an Andean Society

Principally, the study of plural and stratified societies has spanned the last two decades, building on two traditions. These are Marxist class analysis and social anthropology. Marxist theory in itself did not contribute significantly to the question of ethnicity, due to its focus on ethnically homogeneous or class rather than ethnically stratified societies in the West. Capitalist ideologies of development also shared a preference for a discourse of nation-building rather than attention to the minutia of ethnic divisions. If the Marxist and capitalist intelligentsia saw ethnicity as a transient phenomenon which would recede as the nation advanced, western anthropologists soon saw its salience on the cultural map, however. Nevertheless, like the former, they too failed to see its far-reaching political and economic implications since, often pro-native in a Rousseaunian way, they saw it as a cluster of culturally homogeneous characteristics dissociated from their socio-economic contexts.

With the demise of western colonialism in the 1960s in Africa and Asia, the asymmetry of social relations in these continents soon came into full view. Having been united under a colonial ethic of domination and dependence, these societies were now seen not only to be class stratified but ethnically fragmented. In Latin America, particularly in Mexico and Peru, attention was initially focused on the prevailing structure of internal colonialism, the latter seen in the light of dependency theory which emphasized the importance of class over ethnic indices such as language or dress codes. The ultimate relativity of these, however, was seen to undermine their analytical utility. This changed in the 1960s and 1970s as social scientists were faced with the growing politicization of the indigenous community which began to assert its right to difference.

As mentioned in the Introduction, ethnicity has proved a terminologically and theoretically hazardous affair. In popular discourse, ethnic categories are often confused with racial traits, although most sociologists would agree that racial criteria and differentiation are too difficult to establish with any precision. The latter favour the

definition of an ethnic group as a semi-autonomous socio-cultural unit with a distinctive kinship, religious and linguistic organization. The clear-cut differentiation between race and ethnicity is not always evident at an empirical level, however, with some black groups in North America, for example, regarding themselves as ethnic groups, whilst others, such as the Chicanos, calling themselves 'la raza' (Van Den Berghe 1974, 4). The confusion increases when the issue of class enters into the equation. If by class sociologists mean the Marxist notion of relation to the means of production, this definition has also been seen to be highly relative, particularly in Latin America where full proletarianization and class consciousness do not exist in many areas and where market and non-market economies often function side by side. Viewing ethnicity as a predominantly class issue also falls into the trap of redefining *indio* as *campesino*. This discourse was prevalent in Peru in the Republican period and was taken up again during the military regime of 1968 (Van den Berghe 1974, 17).

What does appear to unite the many sociologists and anthropologists who seem intent on splitting hairs over this issue, however, is the pre-eminence of empirical research. This is because ethnicity is an ultimately relative and subjective issue. The need to balance class and political factors with cultural and symbolic ones, such as the images people have of themselves and of others, becomes a primary concern. This is the theory of the controversial sociologist Pierre Van den Berghe (1974), who inspires confidence for his sensitivity to cultural nuances, but ends up reinforcing the dichotomy between culture and class by using the term ethnic to mean socio-cultural and class to mean economic, as though the two concepts were distinct from each other.[1] Although his central thesis seems sensible - the more politically and economically marginalized an area, the more rigid the socio-cultural divide between groups, whilst the closer one is to urban centres, the greater the prevalence of bilingualism which blurs socio-cultural distinctions and accentuates class differences[2] - his approach is ultimately too schematic,

[1] In other studies, such as those by Fredrik Barth, ethnicity combines both elements. For Barth, ethnic relations constitute a system of 'boundary-maintaining processes' (1982, 33), where differences between groups are mutually sustained. Affiliation to these groups may be self-ascriptive or adscribed by others (1982, 13). See also Pierre Van den Berghe (1974, 19-21).

[2] At times he concedes that some areas are more difficult to categorize than others, such as those where the upwardly mobile *cholo* is in evidence (1974, 9-10), but this does not lead him to take a more hybrid approach to ethnicity.

limiting himself to signalling which area shows a greater prevalence of class or socio-cultural distinctions over another.

These theoretical and methodological problems appear at every point in the debate on ethnicity in Peru. Whilst colonial legislators saw the population divided into three main groups: *indios*, *mestizos* and *blancos*, this was at odds with empirical evidence revealing the existence of *cholos*, *mistis* and *vecinos*. Social scientists in more recent times have also been at odds with each other. Oscar Núñez del Prado (1973, 11-13),[3] for example, asserted that there were four socio-cultural groups in Kuyo Chico in the district of Pisac, Cuzco: *Indians*, *cholos*, *mozos* and *mestizos*, whilst Fernando Fuenzalida (1970, 53) argued that there were only two in Pisac: *indígenas* and *mistis* or *mestizos*. Other sociologists such as Mario Escobar, meanwhile, used a mixed terminology, describing Cuzco as being divided up into *los ricos*, *los cholos* and *los indios*.[4] This highlights the fact that for some class was an important feature of ethnicity, coinciding with the view of another sociologist, François Bourricaud, who regarded economic and political dependency rather than language and residence as the defining criteria in socio-cultural relations.[5] Factors such as illiteracy and Quechua monolingualism were perceived as cultural symptoms rather than causes of the Indians' subordination.

The ultimately empirical and relational nature of identity in the Andean region suggests, therefore, that social scientists must not only take into account the variety of terms in local circulation but specify who uses them and whom they evoke. The term *misti* or *vecino*, for example, should be clarified as a term usually used by Indians to refer to whites, *mestizos* and *cholos*, whilst it should also be pointed out that the Indian community itself does not consider itself *indio* or *indígena*, but adheres to less racially determined terms such as *runa*, *comunero* or *natural*. There is even greater ambiguity in an urban setting with names such as *cholo*, *mozo* and *sabio* identifying a semi-acculturated group or alternatively a younger generation (Fuenzalida 1970, 57-58). The overriding

3 Along with Gabriel Escobar, Oscar Núñez del Prado was the first to graduate in anthropology in Peru at the Department of Anthropology formed during the Second World War in Cuzco (Murra and López-Baralt 1996, 270)

4 Mario Escobar's study is quoted by Pierre Van den Berghe (1974, 15)

5 Bourricaud (1967; 1970; 1975) was a precursor to Aníbal Quijano (1980) in his use of the term *cholificación* to describe the socio-cultural and class changes taking place in Puno in the 1950s.

relativity of these terms does not call for a more uniform ethnic terminology, but for greater explanation of the terms by social scientists.

If the Incas' concern for empire building conceded and even promoted a sense of ethnic diversity,[6] Spanish colonial society attempted to minimize it. Under an ethic of paternalism, which sought to 'protect' the Indian population from avaricious *encomenderos*, safeguarding its right to communal land and the right to be tried in an Indian court (*fueros*) according to the *Leyes de Indias*, *ayllus* were remodelled into *reducciones* and integrated into colonial society by Viceroy Toledo (1569-1581). Allegiance and identity was thus channelled towards the local political unit or *cabildo* through which the Spanish authorities exercised authority. An effective means of population control, this system also ensured a steady supply of tribute and labour. Unlike in Inca times, tribute was now paid in money and labour services (*mita*) performed by unspecialized ethnic groups. According to Olivia Harris (1995, 354), this 'homogenization' of the native population in socio-cultural and class terms meant that racial and cultural differences between the Spanish and Indians were increasingly perceived in economic or fiscal terms. The Indians were the ones who paid the tribute and performed the labour services, whilst the *alcabala*, a sales tax on produce, identified the non-Indians who were the only ones permitted to enter into mercantile relations (Harris 1995, 354). The population, therefore, was officially divided into fiscal categories based on racial distinctions, however much these were played down. This resulted in a *casta* system which was the closest colonial society came to admitting ethnic differentiation. The official separation between Indian and Spanish or *mestizo* groups, which gave rise to the notion of Peruvian society as 'the two republics' (Harris 1995, 353), belied a more complex reality however.

Firstly, indigenous society was not as homogeneous as the colonial legislation sought to portray it. A middling strata of nobility, the *curacas*, not only ensured the supply of tribute and labour in return for special privileges, but entered into full market relations with non-Indians. From 1570 onwards, the sons of *curacas* attended special

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[6] See John Howland Rowe, 'Inca Policies and Institutions Relating to the Cultural Unification of Empire'; Craig Morris, 'The Infrastructure of Inka Control in the Peruvian Central Highlands', and John V. Murra, 'The Mit'a Obligations of Ethnic Groups to the Inka State', in *Anthropological History of Andean Polities*, ed. by John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel and Jacques Revel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

schools where they learnt Spanish and administrative skills (Bourricaud 1975, 367). With an expanding market, growing urbanization and the development of new occupations, opportunities for social mobility increased in colonial society. Because eligibility for employment rested on factors such as the use of Spanish language and dress, many adopted new identities and roles. A new stratum of public officials emerged associated with the colonial administration, schools and churches, whilst new occupations such as the *artes y oficios*, or artisanal work, absorbed an increasingly urban population (Bourricaud 1975, 369). Needless to say, these workers won exemption from tribute and *mita* obligations.

As population movements were set into motion by the colonial regime, either to mines, plantations or *reducciones*, to ensure tribute and *mita*, or to the cities to avoid them, ethnic boundaries began to fray at the edges. An Indian who was taken from his village, forced to work in the mines but managed to escape, was no longer considered an Indian but a *forastero* or *mestizo*. Although he was often subject to paying the local *curaca* rent for land if he settled in a village, he was exempted from tribute and *mita* obligations (Silverblatt 1987, 136). It became increasingly the case, therefore, that many saw separation from or falsification of one's origins as a means of acquiring *mestizo* status and avoiding fiscal obligations (Harris 1995, 358). Women, meanwhile, began to see the opportunity to gain this status for their children through real or alleged illegitimacy (Harris 1995, 358-359). Despite this and the gradual merging of *curaca* and *mestizo* groups, Harris (1995, 358) reveals that the latter's status remained ambiguous in the colonial legislation, exempted from some obligations whilst shunned from high public positions. The Spanish obsession with purity of blood meant that *mestizos* in early colonial society were almost as discriminated against as the Indians. Even native chroniclers such as Guaman Poma harboured a sceptical view of *mestizos* and *cholos*, the latter equated with the disintegration of native society (Silverblatt 1987, 145).

Clientalist relations between central and local authorities had aimed to consolidate political and economic power over the population. Building on the hierarchical structure of the *ayllu* by incorporating it in the *cabildo* system, the Spanish co-opted the indigenous authorities, or *varayoq*, through the local kinship or *compadrazgo* system whereby *encomenderos* gave protection in return for loyalty and personal services.

This system also became a means by which to keep indigenous communities in competition against each other since different *encomenderos* would offer their allegiance to different communities. Its reliance on local intermediaries and interest groups further down the scale nevertheless revealed the inherent weakness of the colonial state.

The demise of the Spanish authorities and the ascendancy of the *mestizo* in the Republic era did not, however, lead to a significant reconfiguration of the system of power and social differentiation, *criollo* and *mestizo* (*misti* in the *sierra*) control merely substituting that of the *peninsulares* so that the structure of society remained in essence colonial. The liberal rhetoric of abolishing the category of Indian was, for example, abandoned in the face of financial crisis and the tribute was re-enforced under a different name, *contribución de indígenas*. As the expansion of the communication system placed transport and market activities into the hands of *mestizos*[7] and a second wave of *hacienda* expansion took place in the *sierra*, Indians and *mestizos* became even more polarized. Despite the monopoly of the *mestizos*, however, the latter's status remained equivocal. If during colonial times it was based on a denial of origin, in Republican times it continued to be defined in opposition to the Indian community from which it had emerged.[8] Often this led to highly contradictory situations in which *mestizos* oscillated between violent aggression towards the Indian community and cultural identification with it.

Increased mobility also undermined cultural homogeneity in the Indian community. Seasonal mining and plantation work enabled Indians to liberate themselves from the traditional ties to the valleys now occupied by *mestizos*. These seasonal workers and smallholders were soon identified as *mestizos* or *cholos*, whilst landless *colonos* on *haciendas* and communal landowning *comuneros* in highland *ayllus* were increasingly situated on the Indian side of the ethnic ladder. The urban Indian became what Bourricaud (1975) calls a *cholo*, who had an even more equivocal position in the stratification system. The product of a fluid labour market, he was characterized

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[7] An example of this can be seen in the commercialization of the wool trade in Arequipa which by the turn of the century was dominated by *mestizos* whose role as local intermediaries grew as the railways expanded (Harris 1995, 362).

[8] Harris cites an example of a ritualized attempt to establish a separate *mestizo* identity. In northern Potosí, *mestizo* traders accept food from local Indian communities through *compadrazco* ties, but recook it in order to assert the distinction between the two groups (1995, 365).

by picaresque qualities, being mobile, enterprizing and opportunistic, his occupations ranging from illegal street vendor in the city, to cattle dealer in the provinces.

The cultural ambiguity of the terms *mestizo*, *indio* and *cholo* thus contrasts with the apparently well-defined class and fiscal differences between them. The Indians were those who paid the tribute, the non-Indians those who enjoyed access to their resources. In many ways, therefore, Harris is right when she says that colonial and Republican legislation consolidated ethnic divisions by creating new fiscal categories (1995, 354). Land privatization and participation in the market also accentuated the differences between groups. The existence of both collective and individual forms of production, of market and non-market economies and the differential involvement in these by groups, has contributed to what Harris calls an 'ethnic economy' (1995, 368). Although both Harris and Bourricaud seem intent on situating their ethnic groups in a historical framework, their aims and methodologies are at variance. Harris states her intention of viewing the Indians and *mestizos* as 'historical constructs' (1995, 375) rather than relative groupings. She is not, therefore, concerned with the nuances of nomenclature systems or the emergence of the *cholo* as a separate group, but includes the latter in the category of *mestizo*. This is different from Bourricaud (1975) who, more concerned with the empirical data of socio-economic and cultural realities, makes the *cholo* a local protagonist.

The relationship between language and reality in the field of socio-cultural relations, or the relationship between social categories and the subjects or realities they refer to is, therefore, highly problematic in Peru. This can also be witnessed in the opposition between two simultaneous trends operating in Peruvian society: the discourse of *mestizaje*, as a Utopia, and the practice of racism.[9] Aside from contemporary social science analyses of the nature of colonial and republican society, intellectuals were constructing images of the nation during their own time. In the post-colonial era, *indigenista* intellectuals contributed to the ideology of racial purity and the creation of an Indian ethnic identity in an attempt to redress the balance of power between *sierra* and *costa*.[10] Just as Indians and an Andean Utopia[11] were constructed by *indigenista* and

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[9] This could also be seen the other way around, *mestizaje* as praxis and racism to counter it. This is the reading of Portocarrero (1993) as explored further on.

[10] According to Arguedas, Luis E. Valcárcel was the main exponent of this early phase of *indigenismo* (see José María Arguedas, 'Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú', in *Formación de una cultura nacional*

Cuzqueño (essentially ex-*curaca*) elites to spread fear amongst the landed oligarchy and shift the balance of power away from the coast, *mestizaje* as an intellectual and political programme of national integration had its authors too. As praxis, *mestizaje* had its origins in the colonial era but became ideologically oriented during the Republican period when *mestizos* began to consolidate political control. By officially endorsing a discourse of *mestizaje* these, basing their views on Uriel García and, ironically, certain Hispanists such as Riva Agüero,[12] justified their political authority, whilst *indigenistas* on the coast and in the provinces sought to undermine this centralism. As a political discourse, *mestizaje*, based on the assumption that racial miscegenation was a fait accompli, legitimized the right of *mestizos* over Indians and some *mestizos* over others, thus consolidated rather than bridged the divisions in society. The discrepancy between rhetoric and reality continues to this day where the received notion is that all are *mestizos* in Peru (Portocarrero 1993, 216), whilst what being a *mestizo* actually means remains unresolved.[13]

Wide-scale migration to the cities in the 1950s precipitated the emergence of a popular urban migrant culture. According to the sociologist Carlos Franco (1991), this alternative socio-economic landscape, with its heterogeneous economic production methods and multiple ethno-cultural groupings, corresponds more to local geo-cultural realities than to western notions of class.[14] Franco's aim is to create a conceptual framework in which to investigate the large floating population in the cities and what he sees to be the different levels of *mestizaje* or articulation between groups. Migrant culture became the theme par excellence in the social sciences of the 1960s and continues today, with recent studies on the informal economy, popular organizations in the *barriadas* and *chicha* culture. If the debate in the 1960s on migrant culture centred around whether or

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indoamericana, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 189-197 (p. 195). Much of what Arguedas says here echoes José Carlos Mariátegui's appraisal of *indigenismo* (1972, 327-346).

[11] See Chapter Three for a detailed analysis of this.

[12] As Mariátegui pointed out (1972, 231-233), Riva Agüero, although a monarchist and sceptical about Peru's transition to a Republic, upheld a notion of *mestizaje* based on the figure of the Inca Garcilaso. Any possibility of an adverse effect from miscegenation with the Indian population was thus dissolved by the regal status of Garcilaso and the ascendancy of his Spanish origins. This, of course, was contrary to Uriel García's (1973) concept of the 'nuevo indio' whose indigenous background was played up. As Mariátegui (1972, 340), and later Arguedas, emphasized, *mestizo* and *mestizaje* were by no means homogeneous phenomena.

[13] Rodrigo Montoya (1992) uses the metaphor of a mirror to represent a fragmented sense of self in a post-colonial Peru. The denial of one's identity in the face of the dominant one in the mirror is equated with acculturation. According to Montoya, the lack of a corollary between the official image and the real image of identity may explain much of the violence of recent social history in the country.

[14] Such geocultural groupings are, for example 'urban-modern' as opposed to 'informal-urban' and 'rural-modern' as opposed to 'rural-Andean' (1991, 12).

not this was a transitional or permanent feature of Peruvian society, attention today has focused more on trying to establish whether it is *mestizo* (combining both Andean and *criollo* characteristics) or a socio-cultural reality in its own right, representing new urban subjects.[15] Equating *mestizaje* with domination, Franco prefers to see migrant culture as an entirely new phenomenon which resists rather than succumbs to subjugation.

The dynamic of power and rule in Peru throws up some interesting psycho-sociological phenomena for Gonzalo Portocarrero (1993) and José Guillermo Nugent (1992) who explore the dialectic of *mestizaje* and discrimination in contemporary Peruvian society. The lack of a clear-cut link between class and race, the fact that the boundaries between the two are blurred due to migration and socio-economic mobility, displaces the issue of race in the minds of the Peruvian population. To the question: '¿Existe racismo en el Perú?', therefore, Portocarrero (1993, 181) answers with a qualified affirmation. Racism does exist but in an opaque, muted and disguised form, the discrepancy between appearance and reality resulting in a nebulous 'espejismo' (Portocarrero 1993, 182). Portocarrero and Nugent concede that racial discrimination exists in Peruvian society because it has an important function to perform. In the wake of widescale migration it acts as a regulator of social relations, checking competition and excessive upward mobility. In psycho-social terms, it contributes to consolidating a sense of self, even though this is usually seen in negative terms.[16] The mixed feelings of admiration and disdain between *criollos*, *mestizos*, *cholos* and Indians ultimately cement inequitable social relations by reproducing paternalism and patterns of behaviour based on dependency (Portocarrero 1993, 181-223).

Although since the 1960s, when Structuralist tendencies tended to blur tribal or ethnic differences in favour of the so-called wider ethnic group, revisionist impulses have attempted to highlight diversity and disparity between groups, social scientists have continued to fall prey to homogenizing tendencies. To be fair, some sociologists (e.g. Bourricaud, Fuenzalida, Van den Berghe) have revealed the plurality of meanings

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15 The emergence of new social actors, termed *cholos*, in both urban and rural areas leads Franco (1991) to describe the nation as a whole as culturally *cholo*.

16 According to these two sociologists, the *cholo* comes to incarnate all that one should not be in Peruvian society, becoming that against which one measures oneself and others. What Portocarrero calls 'hacer el cholito' (1993, 211), Nugent calls 'el choleo', the system by which one determines 'quién es más y quién es menos' (1992, 80), coinciding with Octavio Paz's concept of 'el ninguneo' which operates on a similar basis through a negative system of identity (1991, 52).

contained in the terms Indian, *mestizo* or *cholo*, but they have rarely questioned the validity of the social categories per se. Systems of classification and knowledge are, as has been seen, often at odds with reality itself, but investigations into the sociology of knowledge, or the objectives of sociology in general, have infrequently been undertaken. New conceptual or interpretative frameworks where western and non-western systems of perception and evaluation co-exist, that is, the elaboration of a system of knowledge based on the simultaneity of cultural realities and identities rather than the supremacy of one over another, have yet to be ventured.

Although in a country like Peru a colonial legacy of Eurocentrism and discrimination persists, highlighted by Portocarrero et al., the success of indigenous groups in the Amazonian jungle of Peru or in Ecuador in gaining recognition in recent years, for example, reveals the emergence of a new discourse and the possibility of more viable cultural continuity by groups controlling its means of production (Montoya 1992). The need to 'de-anthropologize' the Indian (Sánchez Parga 1990, 100-105), where Indians are seen as subjects of their own anthropology rather than dehistoricized objects of someone else's, thus becomes a paramount concern in the 1980s and 1990s. John M. Watanabe (1995) recognizes this when he describes how intellectuals in Guatemala, adhering to more fashionable post-modernist theories and practices, found themselves at odds with local Mayan groups who wanted accurate and authentic portrayals of themselves. Intellectuals who were trying to articulate a sense of pan-Mayanism also found themselves having to take local versions into account. José Sánchez Parga (1990, 91-95), meanwhile, reveals how in Ecuador the Agrarian Reforms of 1964 and 1973 led to the emergence of ethnic groups controlling their own political discourse at a national level.[17]

In his introduction to *The Invention of Ethnicity*, Werner Sollors, following in the line of James Clifford (1986), situates ethnicity in a 'post-anthropological' and 'post-literary' discourse (1991, xi). Observing, in the wake of post-modernists, the cultural constructedness of reality, he sees terms such as 'ethnicity', 'nationalism' and 'race' as:

[17] It soon becomes apparent that despite Sánchez Parga's (1990) calls for Indian and left-wing groups to bridge the gap between class and ethnic (here meaning 'cultural'), he finds it difficult to do so himself. Like many who explore the question of ethnicity, he separates the two concepts, class and culture, out from the onset. He also fails to widen his use of the word ethnic to include non-Indians.

'widely shared, though intensely debated, collective fictions that are continually re-invented' (Sollors 1991, xi). According to him, this coincides with Benedict Anderson (1991) and Eric Hobsbawm's (1984) analyses of nationalism which reveal how ethnic homogeneity and oligarchic hegemony coincided with the advent of 'print-capitalism' (Anderson 1991, 18) and 'invented tradition' through the co-option of symbolic capital (Hobsbawm 1984, 1). By recognizing ethnicity's 'invention', Sollors hopes to steer readers away from more humanist readings, which according to him: 'tend less to set out to explore its construction than to take it for granted as a relatively fixed or, at least, a known and self-evident category' (1991, xiii). Whilst a valid reaction against the melting-pot theory of many discourses of *mestizaje*, this approach ends up taking a essentialist view of ethnic groups, isolating them rather than placing them in a syncretic or hybrid whole. Highlighting the cultural intersection between groups and as such 'de-marginalizing' them (Sánchez Parga 1990, 100-105), radically alters the particularist approach of too many anthropological, sociological and historical discourses on ethnicity.

ii) (Con-) Textualizing Ethnicity in *Todas las sangres*

The appearance of *TLS* in November 1964 coincided with an important era in the history of the social sciences in Peru. The *Instituto de Estudios Peruanos,* or *I.E.P.*, had been established earlier that year by Matos Mar and Alberto Escobar, amongst others, and had also involved Arguedas in its activities. Concerned with the study of national issues and regeneration, these men aimed to place their instruments of analysis at the service of society, their objectives concretized by Bravo Bresani in *Desarrollo y subdesarrollo, de una economía del hambre a una economía del hombre,* published the following year in 1965. In a chapter in the latter entitled *Literatura y sociedad*, published separately in 1966, Bresani outlined the specific contribution of literature in the study of national realities and called for an interdisciplinary approach in which both the social sciences and the humanities were mobilized. A series of *Mesa redondas* were organized for 1965[18] and, amongst

18 These were the *Primera mesa redonda sobre literatura y sociología* on 26 May; the *Mesa redonda sobre las haciendas en Huancavelica* on 9 June and, of course, the *Mesa redonda sobre Todas las sangres* on 23 June.

these, from 14 to 17 June, there took place the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* in Arequipa, the first meeting of its kind and significant for bringing two generations of writers and literary critics together to debate the relationship of the writer to society. Most importantly, perhaps, the debate marked a precursor to the infamous *Mesa redonda* on *TLS* just a few days later, revealing some indication of the gulf of misunderstanding between Arguedas and his interlocutors at the latter.

Three main issues arose from the meeting in Arequipa and involved confrontations between Salazar Bondy (supported by Miguel Oviedo) and Arguedas (in alliance with Ciro Alegría) which were mediated by Alberto Escobar.[19] The first set about giving a definition of reality, Salazar Bondy's notion of it as 'realidad verbal' (Arguedas 1986a, 130), in which the novel was 'una invención...una gran mentira' (Arguedas 1986a, 104),[20] posited against Arguedas' notion of 'realidad realidad' (Arguedas 1986a, 140)[21] (or Alegría's idea of 'realidad vital' (Arguedas 1986a, 147)) where 'las palabras nombran cosas' (Arguedas 1986a, 140). Arguedas' belief in the interrelatedness of reality and fiction, where the latter reflects the former, is in fact the argument of Salazar Bondy put the other way around, so that semantically the two writers are not so much at odds. What arises, however, is the ability of literary nomenclature, the terms writers use to define their art, to cause misunderstandings. Escobar attempted to placate the participants by stating quite rightly that the coalescence of 'realidad de palabras' and 'realidad realidad' merely formed the 'realidad total' (Arguedas 1986a 119) with which the writer worked. This initiated a debate on literary techniques, in which the image of the artist who self-consciously employed literary devices was posited against the largely intuitive writer.[22] It was here that Escobar once again made some illuminating comments about Arguedas and *TLS*. Whilst not denying the fact that the latter had his techniques also (he claimed that *TLS* was Arguedas' most

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[19] This meeting was published as *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos*, by José María Arguedas et al. (Lima: Latinoamericana Editores, 1986a).

[20] According to Salazar Bondy: 'La única realidad fundamental en la novela, y en la literatura en general, es la realidad verbal' (Arguedas 1986a, 131). This is paralleled in an article Salazar Bondy wrote about *TLS* in which he denied the existence of an objective reality, maintaining that 'lo social es eco de lo verbal' (1965, 20).

[21] Arguedas maintained that: 'El contacto del creador con la realidad es la fuente fundamental de la creación' (Arguedas 1986a, 107). In many ways, Arguedas can here be seen to be cultivating an image of himself as a spontaneous writer. William Rowe reveals how this is contradicted by Arguedas' fastidious approach to linguistic expression, particularly when writing *RP* (1979, 41-122).

[22] At Arequipa, the difference between the two was seen predominantly as a generational issue (Arguedas 1986a, 199-200).

structured novel), Escobar emphasized the role of the imagination and intuition in his work (Arguedas 1986a, 189-201). These, according to Escobar, enabled Arguedas to capture reality as a totality in the form of symbols. Put the other way around, this means that Arguedas' ability to synthesize reality came directly from his experience of that reality: 'esta fuerza intuitiva, esta cosa de necesidad de crear un símbolo...está embebida en su propia experiencia' (Arguedas 1986a, 201).

The attempt to define reality and the relationship between technique and intuition in revealing that reality, culminated in a discussion on *indigenismo* as a national literary genre, the latter a concern which transcended Arequipa and pervaded Arguedas' writings on the novel before and after it. At Arequipa, however, a number of points were made which act as useful markers in the analysis of the relationship between this genre and Arguedas' own writing. Arguedas began by linking 'technique' with social milieu, revealing how from *YF* on, the social context he sought to portray had become 'más vasto o más complejo' (Arguedas 1986a, 172) due to the opening up of road links. The focus on the Indian, which had defined *indigenista* literature until then, diminished with this widened panorama and the necessity to take other social actors into account: 'no se puede conocer al indio sino se conoce a las demás personas que hacen del indio lo que es' (Arguedas 1986a, 172).[23] This meant that by the time he had written *TLS*, Arguedas had transcended the original parameters of *indigenista* literature: 'Me parece que en *Todas las sangres* hemos rebasado el tema estrictamente indigenista o tradicionalmente llamado indigenista' (Arguedas 1986a, 240). This was confirmed by Escobar when he defined the novel as: 'comienza a usar una serie de rupturas de tiempo, de espacio, de personaje, de ambiente, a crear una multitud de personajes, a enrevesarlos en una serie de encuentros inesperados' (Arguedas 1986a, 201-202), coinciding with Cornejo Polar's words at the beginning of the debate about Peruvian literature's tradition of realism ('compromiso ineludible con la realidad' (Arguedas 1986a, 27)) which in recent years had extended its scope by representing new 'mundos totales' (Arguedas 1986a, 23): 'nuestra novelística...siguiendo el camino inverso de la europea,

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[23] This is repeated throughout 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú' and can be appreciated more fully when one takes into account the influence *El tungsteno* (1931) had on Arguedas, since Vallejo situated the oppression of the local indigenous population by the Mining Society in the wider context of the exploitation of *serrano* society by forces from the coast. See 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', *Mar del Sur* (Lima), 9 (1950), 66-72 (repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (p. 170)).

aprehende con vertiginosa, con alucinante autenticidad, grandes ámbitos del mundo peruano; superando por igual los postulados de la novela psicologica y de la novela objetiva, en favor de un realismo superior, abarcador de dimensiones cada vez mayores del Perú, de su problemática más oscura' (Arguedas 1986a, 26).

Realism and *indigenismo* are thus both reaffirmed and transcended, as mentioned in the Introduction and by Arguedas himself.[24] When one takes into account other remarks made by Arguedas on literary production in Peru, namely that the writer: 'debe vivir el país, no contemplarlo simplemente...estos tiempos del Perú son todavía los de la novela que si no narra la vida, el revolverse del país para surgir, ha de valer muy poco',[25] one perceives that irrevocable attachment to reality.[26] When one sees the latter in the process of transformation, meanwhile, one can also appreciate how the author himself had to respond to those changes: 'Generalmente un nuevo estilo aparece porque hay un nuevo mundo que revelar.'[27] This is confirmed by Escobar when he revealed that: 'La productividad del cambio cultural y su dinámica autogeneradora, persuaden a Arguedas que conducen al Perú hacia una nueva unidad, la cual será tan profunda y múltiple como la antigua' (1981, 165).

Systems of social stratification and associated nomenclatures reflect the socio-economic and cultural composition of a nation and, as Nelson Manrique (1995b) has recently pointed out, a system of power. In the section that follows, it will be revealed that by evoking the semantic ambiguity and socio-cultural multiplicity of ethnic relations and identities in the southern *sierra*, Arguedas was able to undermine a hegemonic power system based on class and race, however tacit the latter, as Portocarrero (1993) maintains.

Arguedas reveals an acute awareness of the complex nature of stratification and conflict in the country and the importance of socio-cultural factors, as well as class ones, in these: 'Las clases sociales tienen también un fundamento cultural especialmente grave en el Perú andino; cuando ellas luchan, y lo hacen bárbaramente, la lucha no es sólo

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[24] José María Arguedas, 'Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú', *Visión del Perú* (Lima), 5 (1970), 43-45 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 189-197 (p. 197)).

[25] José María Arguedas, 'Discusión de la narración peruana', *La Gaceta de Lima*, 11 (1960), 10.

[26] This is vigorously reiterated in 'La literatura peruana', *Coral*, 13 (1970), 47-53 (p. 47): 'La relación que hay entre la narrativa y la composición social del país y su evolución podríamos decir que es todavía más directa, como no puede ser de otro modo, que la de la poesía.'

[27] Ibid., 50.

impulsada por el interés económico; otras fuerzas espirituales profundas y violentas enardecen a los bandos, los agitan con implacable fuerza, con incesante e ineludible exigencia.'[28] *TLS* evokes this complexity in a 'pueblo grande'[29] in the *sierra* during the collapse of the semi-colonial system of production based on the *hacienda*, rapid industrial development on the coast and large-scale migration. It not only explores the socio-economic effects of these changes on rural society and the ways in which the latter responds to these, but the cultural implications of this process. As its title suggests, *TLS* dramatizes this flux, reflecting a pattern of Andean rivers converging and diverging as they follow the contours of the mountains. In contrast to previous novels, the novel reveals a wider setting, encompassing Lima with its slums and its international system of capitalism.

If *Agua* presents an insular view of rural society and dichotomies between *señores* and *indios*, *YF* and later *TLS* break these down as influences from the coast increase. No longer intent on representing the dualistic conflict between two poles like the *indigenistas*, Arguedas sought to evoke a multi-faceted conflict, the axis of which was constantly shifting. As Cornejo Polar (1973) has shown, Arguedas widens the scope of conflict externally by revealing different groups vying for socio-economic and cultural representation, as roads expand and capitalist penetration increases, and internally, as Bourricaud (1958; 1970) has revealed in his studies of *YF*, by exploring the ways in which groups incarnate these power-struggles, thus reflecting the conflict within their own ranks.[30] As the geo-cultural gap between the coast and *sierra* narrows, the traditional system of stratification is undermined, with the number of small landowners growing in the Indian community and *mestizo* middle-men acquiring economic power through commercial activities. This is aggravated by the entry of new social actors representing the international system of capitalism which unseats the oligarchic group, the *vecinos*. The ensuing collapse of the old-style *hacienda* order in the *sierra* marks the

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[28] 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (pp. 166-167).

[29] Ibid., 168.

[30] Bourricaud shows in great detail how Arguedas breaks down cultural homogeneity by positing characters of the same socio-cultural group in opposition to each other. Even the Indian community which appears as a collective protagonist is stratified into four *ayllus* (those of Puquio), whilst within the *mestizo* group, the 'cholo emergente' (1970, 6) destabilizes both Indian and *misti* groups, as well as its own (with *cholos* posited against *chalos*).

demise of semicolonial socio-economic and cultural relations and the negotiation of alternative identities and roles.

When looking at stratification in *TLS*, therefore, one must observe the two-way process of a power system (oligarchical control) being broken down - this is achieved by Arguedas through the historicist discourse which dismantles categories based on what Sollors would call 'a fixed encyclopaedia of supposed cultural essentials' (1991, xv) by locating them in specific spatial and temporal frameworks - and an alternative one emerging - through an archetypalizing discourse which places characters in a diachronic frame and reveals their processual and ultimately dialogic natures. This duality of focuses may be seen to correlate with Arguedas' attempt to write a 'total' novel or, as Cornejo Polar (1995, 71) has recently suggested: 'lo que quería Arguedas era ofrecer una imagen del Perú total',[31] in which he fluctuates between: 'un esfuerzo que creo que podíamos llamar multicultural' (what I have termed historicism, since it seeks to reveal and reproduce multiplicity) and 'un esfuerzo sincrético de transculturación' (or archetypalism).[32]

In this chapter, attention will first be focused on the nomenclature of the existing system which, as mentioned, is being reconfigurated due to the presence of new social actors, and subsequently on the terminology and practices of those from the emergent system who reveal a capacity to straddle both (old and new) orders. Many of the terms in both spheres (such as *cholo* or *mestizo*) are culturally ambiguous or ethnic in the sense that they are non-class and non-race specific, coinciding with Arguedas' desire to distance himself from *indigenistas* such as Luis E. Valcárcel and Uriel García and their deterministic recourse to race. Arguedas' reiterations throughout his anthropological work[33] attest to this emphatic denial of race as a criteria for the study of identities and relations in the southern Andes and coincides with the endeavour of sociologists such as

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31 This is mentioned by Arguedas himself in 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (pp. 166-167).

32 Arguedas' archetypalizing discourse seeks to synthesize but does not do so by suppressing multiplicity. As shall be seen further on in the figure of the artisan, Arguedas' concept of *mestizaje* maintains a sense of plurality.

33 These are expressed most vociferously in 'El complejo cultural en el Perú', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 1-8 (p. 2): 'Hablamos en términos de cultura; no tenemos en cuenta para nada el concepto de raza. Cienquiera puede ver en el Perú indios de raza blanca y sujetos de piel cobriza, occidentales por su conducta.'

Manrique and Portocarrero in Peru today, namely the dismantling of racial and racist discourses of power.

a. Defining the Categories: A Historicist Perspective

The thesis on Sayago clearly reveals Arguedas' interest in the system of social stratification governing rural society and his desire to expose the nuances of socio-cultural relations beneath the pervading *señorito-vecino* framework. Despite what may appear to be a somewhat exaggerated statement about the 'odio de castas' in Bermillo (Arguedas 1968a, 138), Arguedas is intent on highlighting the rigidity of the class structure in the village. This may be explained by the fact that the thesis was written with the expressed aim of comparing the structural conditions of Zamora with those of the southern Peruvian *sierra*. Due to the socio-cultural transformations in Peru, as Arguedas pointed out in another essay: 'Hace apenas unos veinte años que las antiguas áreas culturales, que fueron respetadas durante la administración colonial, están siendo destrozadas y reordenadas por las carreteras',[34] and a desire to evoke characters emerging from this new reality, Arguedas deliberately sought to reveal cultural ambiguity in order to subvert previously demarcated lines of stratification and evoke multiplicity. As Fermín del Pino (1995, 250) has pointed out, thematic (and indeed methodological) correlations between the thesis and Arguedas' subsequent novel, *TLS*, are by no means coincidental, since both were being written at the same time in 1962.[35]

According to Sollors, ethnicity reflects a heterogeneous cultural landscape and a plural sense of belonging in it (1991, xiv-xv). An 'ethnic text' (Sollors 1991, xvi), meanwhile, not only reflects these distinctions in society but actively seeks to reproduce them at a textual level. Sollors (1991, xii) highlights how incorporating oral elements may capture this process, coinciding with Anderson's link between 'print capitalism' (1991, 18) and 'vernacularisation' (1991, 41), or, before either of them, with Bakhtin's (1994) concept of 'dialogism'. In *TLS*, this is primarily achieved through the interrelation of characters in what is essentially a theatrical novel, Cornejo Polar calls it a 'novela

[34] Ibid., 6.
[35] Fermín del Pino has also suggested that Arguedas' official appointments at this time and the publication of his anthropological work placed social issues at the fore of his literary work (1995, 37).

coral' (1973, 191), where dialogue predominates over descriptive passages and interior monologues (as in *YF* and *RP* respectively).[36] Characterization is thus achieved through visual and oral (and aural) devices. In other words, physical appearances and attributes, together with short discursive scenes, dramatize the interrelation of socio-cultural identities. The very fact that characters are thus configured suggests their ultimately negotiable or dialogic identities and relations. Physical appearances and the terminology characters employ to define themselves and others act, therefore, as indices of socio-cultural or ethnic allegiances in a process of reformulation.

In the opening chapter of *TLS*, Arguedas reveals the local system of stratification when he presents the crowd leaving the church (p. 14). Three pages on, whilst don Andrés is addressing these people, further mention is made of the groups comprising San Pedro society: there are 'indios' and 'caballeros pobres', to whom don Andrés leaves the belongings of his house and who follow him as he descends from the tower; there are 'los señores' who remain in the church, and 'los mestizos', who according to the narrator are dispersed, 'se dividieron', some preferring to follow don Bruno and don Fermín, some following behind the Indians. These, the 'señores', the 'caballeros pobres', the 'indios' and the 'mestizos' are the main social groupings in the novel, coinciding with the framework evoked in much *indigenista* literature as Arguedas himself confirms,[37] although, by setting them in the context of a 'pueblo grande' and revealing heterogeneity within and across their ranks, he transcends this formula.

Arguedas thus breaks down the traditional dichotomy between *señores* and *indios* in *TLS* not only by evoking the presence of *mestizo* middle-men, but by revealing internal demarcations within the social ranks themselves. For reasons briefly outlined above and which I will return to in more depth in Chapter Two, namely the changing socio-economic landscape, the *señores* camp becomes stratified. In symbolic terms, the death of don Andrés at the beginning of the novel marks the demise of the *hacienda* as an extension of the colonial *encomienda* system, whilst new social actors (*mestizo* landowners

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[36] Miguel Gutiérrez has also highlighted this by comparing the novel to epic Greek drama (1980, 146). In many ways, this could be seen as coinciding with Salazar Bondy's concept of 'realidad verbal', much maligned by Arguedas, but in many ways capturing the essence of dialogism in the novel (Arguedas 1986a, 130; Salazar Bondy 1965, 20).

[37] 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (pp. 165-166).

and smallholders in the Indian *ayllus*) begin to make their presence felt and old ones (*señores* and *caballeros pobres*) find they must accommodate themselves to these. It is Arguedas' concern for the effects these changes have on the identities and roles of these characters which gives the novel a historicist dimension and a detailed exploration of nomenclature systems throws light on these fluctuating positions. The heterogeneity of socio-cultural affiliations evokes, as Cornejo Polar has said, a 'multiculturalist' perspective (1995, 71) and correlates with Manrique's (1995a, 88-89) view that towards the end of the 1960s Arguedas grew more sceptical of his *mestizaje* agenda of the early 1950s which had sought to syncretize and harmonize.[38] If we take the land-owning class as an example, groups of characters within it contrast against each other and challenge one another within their respective groups. That is, don Bruno is posited against don Fermín, who in turn, as a pair, confront don Lucas and Cisneros, whilst the dispossessed *vecinos* challenge both parties. Each of these characters represents a particular position within the stratification system dominated by the *hacienda* and the terms which Arguedas employs highlights these. Significantly, Arguedas' representation of these characters is based primarily on the perceptions and terminology of the characters in the novel themselves. In other words, it may be said that Arguedas' system of nomenclature is based on oral and empirical knowledge. This establishes a link with the thesis, which as Fermín del Pino (1995, 52) has pointed out, is full of textual references to the interlocutor and dramatized versions of conversations Arguedas had with his informants. The 'literary' dimension of this is confirmed by Arguedas himself in a letter to Murra: 'Los informantes y los personajes de los casos tienen dimensiones y animación de personajes de novela. Algunos tiene gran vida.'[39] That there should be a continuity in techniques between the thesis and *TLS* comes as no surprise when one takes into account the proximity in time in which both were written.

The use of these devices and the very positioning of characters against each other in *TLS* highlight the relative and contextual nature of identity in the ethnically diverse region of the southern Andes and concurs with many contemporary approaches to

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[38] One can trace this development by juxtaposing the text *El complejo cultural en el Perú*, written in 1952, with *La cultura: un patrimonio difícil de colonizar*, of 1966, both in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975).

[39] *Las cartas de Arguedas*, ed. by John V. Murra and Mercedes López-Baralt (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1996), p. 102.

ethnicity which stress the need to take an insider view, or subjective elements (the images people have of one another and others), into account. Escobar (1976, 293) refers to this relational nature of identity in the novel when describing the interaction of the characters: 'su actuar es siempre consecuencia de un ajuste o redefinición sobre los otros miembros o grupos, y en ese planteamiento dual, que los disocia e integra, se contruye un equilibrio engrampado a las distintas normas, que ya en el conflicto o en el acuerdo de sus intereses, cimenta la extraordinaria solidez estructural de la obra.'[40] In fact, the accuracy with which Arguedas captures the internal dynamics of the system of stratification, makes Bourricaud's (1958; 1970) comments about the depiction of Puquio in *YF* just as relevant to *TLS*. Bourricaud was the first sociologist to admit the verisimilitude of Arguedas' literary work and the valuable contribution it made to the social scientist.[41] More recently, Montoya (1980b; 1991) has followed this course, revealing the ethnographic (and indeed autobiographical) dimensions of *YF*, radically setting out, alongside Bourricaud, to redress the balance overturned by the social scientists in June 1965.

The system of stratification

Old style *gamonalismo* is represented in the novel by don Andrés, a patriarchal figure referred to as 'el viejo' (p. 13), a character who also opens the novel *RP*, who ascribes to social and moral concepts of honour by defining himself a 'caballero' (p. 15). A lifetime spent in the *sierra* and the relationship he has developed with the *comuneros*, offering them protection against encroaching *vecinos*, makes him identify emotionally with the Indian community: 'Me han convertido en indio. En estos lares en medio de tanta flor de k'antu...¿no está bien que ahora me emborrache con chicha y cañazo?' (p. 15),[42] to the extent that his death is marked by an Indian funeral (p. 30). This establishes don Andrés as a sympathetic figure from the start and reveals the internal disparities within the

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40 This emphasis on structural cohesion is also made by Miguel Gutiérrez but, whereas the latter is somewhat rigid in his endeavour to show that *TLS* is a 'closed novel' inscribed in an Aristotelian poetic scheme (1980, 146), Escobar's is a more subtle reading which acknowledges the fluidity of Arguedas' narrative.

41 'El mérito de esta breve e intensa novela consiste en que al ofrecernos preciosas informaciones sobre la vida de un pueblo peruano del interior...El sociólogo encuentra allí valiosas indicaciones' (Bourricaud 1958, 2). See also Bourricaud (1970, 3).

42 The association of the Indian community with alcohol has been well established by anthropologists and historians, it being a means by which the Spanish were able to mobilize a work-force. This had its origins in the Inca period, as Craig Morris points out (1986, 166), where drink had a ceremonial value and many religious and secular events were accompanied by bouts of drinking.

hacendado class vis-à-vis the Indian community. When one takes into account the comments made by Arguedas about the 'indigenization' of the landowners in the *sierra*, one becomes aware of Arguedas' desire to reflect reality as he experienced it and veer away from the distorted images of *indigenista* literature: 'describir el gamonal no como una bestia sino como un ser humano que tiene defectos y tiene virtudes...yo leía con "Amauta" descripciones de gamonales tan monstruosamente deformados como había sido el indio' (Arguedas 1986a, 236). Don Andrés' clientalist type relationship with the *comuneros* based on co-option and cultural reciprocity,[43] however, marks a stark contrast to don Lucas, revealing Arguedas' aim to avoid schematic character portrayals. Don Lucas, also representing an *hacendado* of the old guard (pp. 187; 196), opts for a conduct based on unrelenting violence, thus constituting an indelible facet of *serrano* reality and the author's own experience of it.[44] So unyielding is his manner that he soon enters the indigenous imaginary as a *nakak'* (p. 438), a vampiric post-Columbian mythological figure associated with the exploitation of the weak.[45]

If don Andrés and don Lucas evoke a pair in which each is a foil to the other, Cisneros and don Fermín represent a pair of 'new' landowners, although their personal attitudes are also polarized. In ethnic terms, Cisneros is a *cholo* or *mestizo*, having assumed this position through the acquisition of land. His ambiguous identity is manifest throughout the novel in a series of power games in which he and other characters attempt to assert themselves socio-culturally. With his most antagonistic rival, don Bruno, he enters into a naming ritual which highlights the ambivalence of the nomenclature system and its association with relations of power. By don Bruno he is referred to as an 'indio' since he is not perceived to belong to the traditional oligarchy extending from the *encomendero* system inherited from the Spanish: 'Usted es indio...no está consagrado en sus posesiones por la ley de la herencia señorial' (p. 185). This reveals the lack of a middle ground for don Bruno, social reality polarized by the *señor-indio* dichotomy of the colonial *casta* system based on race and class. Cisneros defends himself against this by invoking an emergent stratification system based along more fluid ethnic

43 Bourricaud reveals in detail the mutual acculturation between *hacendados* and Indians in his studies of the *vecinos* in *Yl* (1958; 1970).
44 See Arguedas (1989a, 19-22) and 'La literatura peruana', *Coral*, 13 (1970), 47-53 (p. 49).
45 Nelson Manrique (1990) explores this and its relevance in contemporary Peru. See also Alberto Flores Galindo (1989).

lines, in which he finds legitimacy: '¡Qué casta ni qué casta! Ya pasaron esos tiempos. El que tiene dinero, el que más tiene, ese manda; ése es el señor' (p. 187). This new status is confirmed by don Lucas who associates him with a socially mobile group of 'señores de nuevo cuño' (p. 195). This position is ultimately an intermediary one, however, Cisneros forced into a position between the 'grandes señores', other 'cholos' and Indians (p. 207) and thus unequivocally fraught. The alienation which Cisneros suffers as a result of this is, summed up in the words of don Anatolio: 'no es cristiano mestizo ni cristiano indio, ni misti blanco' (p. 345), sets him outside the prevailing social and moral order so that, like don Lucas, he acquires anthropophagous characteristics: 'Nu'hay regla para él. A todos odia, a todos quiere desollar' (p. 345).

Cisneros' implacable adherence to the concept of authority based on semi-feudal *patrón-siervo* relations, in line with the conduct of republican *mestizo* landowners, is manifest when he attempts to exercise what he sees to be his right to annexe the *ayllu* of Paraybamba (p. 265). This is countered by the Paraybambas themselves who are able to mobilize themselves and enact a ritual punishment over him in accordance with indigenous precepts.[46] Interestingly enough, don Fermín, despite his position as an enlightened *criollista* in contrast to Cisneros and don Bruno, opposes this action, revealing his contradictory adherence to traditional notions of authority: 'aunque cholo, Cisneros ya es señor de Parquiña' (p. 281). It becomes increasingly apparent, therefore, that despite his *desarrollista* mentality, don Fermín is unable to relinquish his *serrano* ties entirely, correlating once again with Arguedas' desire to show the profoundly internalized influences of the *sierra* on its inhabitants. For those divorced from this context such as Cabrejos, don Fermín is thus a 'cholo', a 'serrano' and a 'blanco aindiado' (p. 74). In short, don Fermín represents a combination of nineteenth-century Positivist ideology and a Belaúnde-style national capitalism which sought social and economic regeneration, but not at the expense of the ruling classes.[47] Whilst Cabrejos, as seen, describes him in ethnic terms to evoke what he sees to be the latter's anachronistic allegiances: 'entre indio y patriota de la época de la postguerra con Chile' (p. 164), this is

46 Working within an indigenous framework of justice is seen as crucial not only for the social but the cultural continuity of the *ayllu*, as seen in Chapters Two and Three.

47 Don Fermín's outlook correlates very closely with the ideology of Acción Popular which came to power in 1964, explored in detail by Rowe (1979, 132-188).

opposed by don Fermín who opts for more class-based descriptions of himself in line with his technocratic aspirations: 'soy un hombre de negocios' (p. 225), in alliance with the 'empresarios' and the 'hombres de talento' (p. 349).

In this scheme of things, don Bruno is very much a mediatory figure, at the juncture between old and new style *gamonalismo*. Perhaps one of the most complex characters of the novel, he initially seems to fit the colonial landowning model (based on the *encomienda*) on which so much *indigenista* literature has been based. As the plot develops, however, he begins to transcend this position. The ambiguity surrounding don Bruno arises from the gap between the definitions of him given by others (and himself) and the mode of conduct he adopts. According to don Fermín, he is 'un gran señor de poncho, azote y revólver' (p. 45) and a 'patriarca' (p. 341), placing him alongside don Lucas and Cisneros, whilst his sense of piety ('tan cruel y tierno a la vez. Tan gran señor y tan humilde pecador' (p. 349)) and religious concern for the Indians makes him at the same time distant from them.[48] Don Bruno, meanwhile, sees himself as nothing more than the inheritor of his father's line of *hacendados*, symbolically recuperating don Andrés' pistol in the first chapter in order to defend the system of *castas* which endorses his position as 'patrón' through the 'ley de la herencia señorial' (p. 119).[49] As the novel progresses, however, the quasi-feudal notion of 'patrón' is altered considerably.

Arguedas' interest in Bermillo's social structure may be explained by the parallels he finds between it and that of the towns of the southern Peruvian *sierra*. The most striking point of comparison, for example, is the criterion by which *señoritos* and *vecinos* in Bermillo differentiate themselves, the latter doing so by working the land, the former by deriving an income from professional tasks. Because Bermillo is a large

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[48] The distinction between these two kinds of landowners is clearly made by Arguedas where he posits: 'el terrateniente de corazón y mentes firmes, heredero de una tradición secular' against: 'el terrateniente nuevo, tinterillesco y politiquero; áulico servil de las autoridades', in 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (p.165). The obvious preference for the former is manifested on a number of occasions (e.g. Arguedas 1986a, 237; 238), his sense of religiosity and cultural affinity with the Indian community, an extension of the colonial proselytizing mission (led by the Franciscans), ultimately redeeming him in the face of the new *hacendado* and a technocratic order. Ultimately, he is described in terms which reveal his ethnic ambiguity: 'mezcla de indio, de mestizo, de oriental y occidental' (Arguedas 1986a, 109).

[49] Arguedas' ambivalence towards this type of *hacendado* is revealed, as Manrique (1995a, 85-86) points out, in his anthropological essays in the late 1950s. Whereas those of the early 1950s tended to centre on the indigenous community's inherent sense of resistance as the greatest impediment to industrialization and *mestizaje*, those from 1956 to 1957 focused on colonial style *gamonalismo* as the main obstacle, leading to the praise for cities like Huancayo which lacked an entrenched oligarchic structure. Whilst Arguedas remains doubtful about the colonial style *hacendado*, Favre (1976) makes no attempt to disguise his opposition in his study of the *hacienda* system seen in the next chapter.

bureaucratic centre, the number of *señoritos* exceeds that of La Muga, leading to greater tension between classes and greater stratification within the *señorito* camp. Hierarchy is determined by occupation, with high ranking public officials contrasted against artisans, a code of conduct based on 'un tratamiento desdeñoso' (Arguedas 1968a, 185) checking too much social mobility within ranks, whilst, as in the southern *sierra*, an 'odio de castas' regulates relations between *señoritos* and *vecinos*. On this subject, however, Arguedas highlights a point of contrast, for in Peru the issue of race or ethnicity, 'el factor étnico' (Arguedas 1968a, 336), is used to legitimize notions of superiority. Arguedas notices that in Bermillo this absence of race is replaced by religion which condones the social system and instils resignation in its participants (Arguedas 1968a, 180). Despite the exception of La Muga, where there are less apparent differences between classes due to the earlier partitioning of communal lands, and despite the lack of ethnic discrimination in the region as a whole, Arguedas concludes that the system of stratification is more rigid in Zamora than in the Peruvian *sierra* since geographic isolation and the almost suffocating religious ethic impedes social mobility and fixes social groups within clear-cut boundaries.

A study of nomenclature systems in Arguedas' work reveals the precision with which the latter draws comparisons between Zamora and the Peruvian *sierra*: 'el vecino o comunero español al trasladarse al Perú tomó el status del señorito e impuso a la población indígena el status del vecino de Castilla, del comunero' (Arguedas 1968a, 161). This technique of cross-cutting comparatively between two nations in one line or paragraph, runs alongside another device by which Arguedas devotes an entire paragraph to either Zamora or Peru, thus enabling him to go into more detail and avoid being too schematic. Selecting very precise examples and then juxtaposing them against each other also reduces the risk of generalization, as well as allowing him to be anecdotal or to expound at length on what interests him most. The case of children acquiring *señorito* status through education is a case in point, Arguedas clearly intrigued by the way parents of these children, still *vecinos* themselves, have to play host to fellow *vecinos* in the kitchen of their houses rather than in the lounge where their *señorito* children entertain their friends. This domestic detail takes us inside Bermillo society, much as a participant-observer, reflecting the position of Arguedas during his fieldwork.

The ability to convey information from this angle and thus draw in his readership attests to Arguedas' ability to combine social scientific and literary techniques, thereby extending the frontiers of each epistemology.

In one of the sections where he cross-cuts between Spain and Peru, Arguedas evokes San Juan de Lucanas which used to be the capital of the province and a fairly prosperous mining centre until the decline of minerals in the area. We are told that the *vecinos* become poor and lose their influence when the capital is moved to Puquio, the latter described as a 'pueblo de indios' until then (Arguedas 1968a, 201). This dynamic is paralleled in *TLS* by San Pedro which falls into decline when the capital moves to an unnamed town nearby. The anthropologist Jorge A. Flores Ochoa (1974) has described a similar pattern in the Kaykay district of Cuzco, as *misti* ascendancy in the area begins to wane and the subsequent lack of clear-cut economic differences between the *mistis* and *comuneros*, both cultivating land on a subsistence level, gives rise to the greater salience of ethnic criteria, such as language (Quechua vs. Spanish) and crops (maize vs. potato cultivation), in defining identities and relations. The two groups may share a similar income, but the fact that they perceive themselves as different gives them a separate place in the power system. In *TLS*, the *misti* group is no better off, and in some cases is even worse off, than the local Indian population, due to migration, the decline of mining, and more importantly as the novel opens, to the dependence on a piece of land threatened with expropriation by an encroaching multinational. Like the *hidalgos* in the provincial towns of Golden Age Spain, however, they continue to manifest social superiority, as the Judge in the capital of province reveals: 'son traposos, pero persiste todavía en ellos el orgullo. Fueron ricos y tienen apellidos' (p. 366).

These *vecinos* are stratified along class and occupational lines like the *señoritos* in Bermillo. Don Ricardo de la Torre, the mayor of San Pedro, represents the poorer group, his physical demeanour initially belying his status as a *vecino*, as the Sub-prefect Llerena, himself a *mestizo* but economically better off than the *vecinos*, confirms: 'Don Ricardo podía parecer un mestizo pobrísimo...Le extrañó que ese hombre fuera rubio' (p. 364). This, and the latter's eloquent use of Spanish, characteristic of the *vecinos* of Bermillo, whilst testifying to his *vecino* status, continues to jar with his pauperized condition: 'el correcto castellano de ese hombre traposo y mal alimentado' (p. 365). Set aside the

Indian *varayoq* who accompanies him, don Ricardo is 'más o menos pordiosero' (p. 364) to Llerena, but the former is quick to defend himself, claiming genealogy from a *casta* system much like don Bruno, that is, a 'clase de los señores desde el período de la conquista' (p. 364) and an 'alma de caballero' (p. 365). Aquiles Monteagudo, the young landowner who tries to salvage what little remains of his social status by selling up and leaving the area, dresses to disguise his poverty, in true *hidalgo* fashion: 'iba muy afeitado...Una hermosa corbata moderna lucía sobre la camisa' (p. 185). This does not fool don Bruno, however, who is sensitive to the nuances of hierarchy: 'está usted pobre. Y esa corbata no lo disimula' (p. 185). Aquiles reveals all the social insecurity of the threatened *vecino* class. In a scene with Cisneros, he resents the latter's informal manner towards him: '¿Por qué, frente a Monteagudo, que era "más caballero," un señor vinculado con la alta sociedad de la capital, vinculado directamente, y con la experiencia de París, Nueva York y Londres, Cisneros se sentía como ante un igual y hasta casi como ante un inferior?' (pp. 202-203), but Cisnero's unabashed defiance of such conventions leaves him no ground for dispute. The concern of don Ricardo, don Bruno and Aquiles for the minutiae of etiquette, seen by them to determine their position in society, contrasts with the somewhat ingenuous attitude of Hidalgo Larrabure who, referred to by Llerena as 'blanquiñoso' and 'de mucho apellido' (p. 380), attempts to disassociate himself from this background by defining himself as a 'católico moderno' (p. 415). Conceptual frameworks delineating characters along ethnic lines, if not class and racial ones, continue to prevail, nevertheless, so that however much Hidalgo and don Fermín may try to establish different criteria for defining themselves and others, their attempts lose force.[50]

The *vecino* class expands when new characters representing the imperial powers encroach on the area. Cabrejos, a double agent working for don Fermín's mine and Wisther-Bozart, represents the ambiguous standing of the *forastero* in the area, displaced by geography and socio-economics, as the Zar reveals: 'la mentalidad de los pequeños "aristócratas" de provincias definitivamente arruinados por la pobreza' (p. 335). This

[50] This, as seen, correlates with Arguedas' firm belief in the overriding cultural nature of identities and relations in the southern *sierra*. See in 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (p. 166). Also, 'La literatura peruana', *Coral*, 13 (1970), 47-53 (p. 48).

would appear to coincide with the *vecinos*, but Cabrejos' technocratic approach negates any potential affinity with them. The sense of rootlessness he evokes leads to descriptions of him as lacking 'alma' (p. 163) and being 'apátrida' (p. 236) equated, particularly by Rendón as shall be seen in more detail in Chapter Three, with integrity and authenticity. This draws a parallel with the Zar, so that a group of characters associated with a system of international capitalism is inscribed in the concept of *forasterismo*, as Arturo confirms: 'han dejado de ser hombres, son también entes internacionales, sin patria, sin nido' (p. 337). The extension of this, as will be seen in the following chapter, is *wakcha* or orphan, metaphors expressing conditions of dispossession and landlessness.[51] Although the Zar may appear to be ephemeral and dispossessed, however, as a 'rey absoluto' (p. 358) he represents a real enough continuity between colonial and latter-day imperialist tendencies, whilst the lack of a land base as a prerequisite for power merely highlights the emergence of a new system of government based on a different set of socio-economic criteria. Between don Ricardo, Cabrejos, or the Zar there is a gulf of difference, therefore, conforming with Arguedas' desire to move beyond the *tesis dualista* by evoking a group which is 'aún más compleja, intrincada, turbia, cambiante, de varia y contradictoria entraña' (1974, 167), than the Indian community. So precise in his depiction of the latter, as will be seen, Arguedas sets himself a high target.

In the study of Puquio carried out between 1952 and 1956, Arguedas provides a detailed analysis of the town's social matrix by focusing on the four *ayllus* which comprise it. Highlighting the self-conscious acquisition of *mestizo* identity by *comuneros* in these *ayllus*, Arguedas reveals the fluidity of cultural identities and relations in the area. A shared perception that *mestizaje* is necessary for progress, together with the construction of the road to Lima in 1926 and the decline of the local landowning class, has made many Indians assume *mestizo* identity in recent years. As Arguedas explains, this identity, like that of the *misti*, is non-race specific: 'El "misti" no es el blanco',[52]

51 See Mercedes López-Baralt, 'Wakcha, pachakuti y tinku: tres llaves andinas para acceder a la escritura de Arguedas', in *Las cartas de Arguedas*, ed. by John V. Murra and Mercedes López-Baralt (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1996), pp. 301-330.

52 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio', *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima), 25 (1956), 184-232 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 34-79 (p. 35)).

drawn along ethnic lines based on local political and socio-economic relations of power. Due to the late arrival of the Spanish in the region, pre-Columbian organizational precepts still survive, although, in this case, the *hanan* or upper *ayllus*, Chaupi and Qollana, happen to comprise a larger population of *mestizos* because of the greater amount of pasturing lands for their cattle, whilst the *hurin* or lower *ayllus*, Qayao and Pichqachuri, have a higher proportion of Indians who devote more energy to subsistence farming. *Mestizos* are thus posited against *indios*, but whilst this leads to cultural polarization in Qollana and Chaupi because the number of *mestizos* exceeds that of Indians, the presence of *mestizos* in other *ayllus*, where there is a more even ethnic distribution, leads to greater interaction, particularly in economic matters. This was also witnessed by Arguedas in the Mantaro valley and became the basis on which he was to formulate his theory of *mestizaje*, seen in detail in the next section and following chapter.

In his study of Zamora, Arguedas found that an ethic of equality governed the *vecino* class, so that despite differences in wealth, the prevailing assumption that 'todos somos iguales' (Arguedas 1968a, 165) consolidated a sense of commonality between them. Arguedas finds parallels to this in Puquio and Mantaro where the number of *mestizos* grows amongst the Indian community and the remaining *comuneros* are strengthened by their economic dealings with the former, thus 'homogenizing' the Indian population in socio-economic terms.[53]

In *TLS*, however, the presence of *mestizos* in the *ayllus* is seen to be more antagonistic, when not diluted, so that stratification along socio-cultural and economic lines is more in evidence. The *colonos* of La Providencia comprise five hundred heads of family all under don Bruno and his *mayordomo* Carhuamayo, who asserts his *mestizo* status by revealing 'gran menosprecio' towards them (p. 324). Whilst as *colonos* they depend on the *hacienda* for their livelihood, they also constitute a captive *ayllu*, called K'uychi, a socio-political organization which under the *varayoq* system maintains a degree of cultural autonomy, however attenuated. This contrasts with the *colonos* of Cisnero's La Parquiña who are distinguished by their abject poverty and dehumanized condition (p. 243), coinciding with those of don Lucas' (p. 436). These *colonos* are posited

53 In this case, self-attributed *mestizo* status propagates an ethic of equality.

against the *comuneros* of San Pedro de Lahuaymarca whose first appearance in the novel is in *cabildo* with their *varayoq* and the *vecinos* of San Pedro (p. 56). 'Protected' by don Andrés, these *comuneros* have been able to maintain their autonomy (p. 215), a status evoked in the figure of Filiberto who accompanies don Fermín to Cisneros' *hacienda* and asserts his right to enter the house, in marked contrast to Cisneros' *pongo* who is ordered to remain outside (p. 243). Whilst Arguedas contrasts *comuneros* with *colonos* and *pongos*, he also reveals how the former can in some cases be worse off than the latter due to the lack of land and a *cabildo* organization. This is the case of the *comuneros* of Paraybamba, whose autonomous status as a free *ayllu* is contradicted by their poverty, as don Bruno observes: 'los semblantes estaban manchados...por un espanto o angustia que endurecía o había fijado las pupilas de sus ojos. Comuneros libres? Comuneros libres? No' (p. 260). The situation is reversed, however, when alliances with local power groups are made. The one thousand strong *comuneros* of Paraybamba thus have some leverage due to the fluidity of socio-economic and cultural conditions in the area.[54]

The heterogeneity of the Indian community living off the land is extended to that which works in the mine. Indian workers in the latter are either *colonos*, such as the two hundred from La Providencia who work in *mita* mode, or *obreros* or *peones* if working voluntarily. The latter live in the 'caserío' around the mine and a hierarchy is soon established along ethnic lines, with the most recently arrived considered more 'Indian': 'Los de choza se sentían más cómodos que los maestros del caserío...levantaron un cerco y formaron un corral espacioso donde crecía yerba...El maestro consideraba esta costumbre como típica del indio que no es *todavía obrero* y que difícilmente o nunca llegará a ser *maestro*' (p. 103). Time spent at the mine is also determined along ethnic lines, escapee-*colonos* from *haciendas* staying the longest, whilst *comuneros* work on a more seasonal basis, reinvesting their earnings in their *ayllus*: 'nunca venían a trabajar de por vida en esas minas, se alimentaban de maíz tostado y carne salada...y cumplido su contrato se iban, llevándose un pequeño capital para trabajar en sus pueblos' (p. 385). The ambiguous line between Indians and *mestizos* around the mine is heightened,

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54 The fact that the *comuneros* enjoy a higher status and greater prestige than the *colonos* is largely due to the fact that it is self-attributed. This is confirmed by an episode in *RP* (p. 46) and highlighted by Arguedas in *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* (Arguedas 1986a, 238) which reveals the sense of superiority *comuneros* have over *indios de hacienda*. The value ascribed to the rank of *comunero* makes the latter all the more enviable and one to which the *colonos* in *TLS* aspire.

therefore, when economic conditions stimulate interaction between groups. This follows closely with what Arguedas witnessed in Qayao and Pichqachuri in Puquio or, more importantly, in the Mantaro valley.

If Arguedas' early anthropological work sought to shift the emphasis away from the Indian, sustained by Valcárcel (1972), onto the *mestizo*, and the thesis on Zamora examined in close detail the nature of internal stratification within and between social groups, *TLS* combines the two and as such adds to or indeed reworks Uriel García's (1973) project by examining the gamut of interethnic relations comprised in the figure of the *mestizo*. Dismantling the traditional *indigenista indio-criollo* dichotomy and García's all too homogenizing concept of miscegenation, allowed Arguedas to reveal the nuances of Andean social relations, whilst the specific choice of locale, a semi-feudal and ethnically divided Apurímac, enabled him to evoke geocultural heterogeneity and test out the *mestizo* model, elaborated from what he saw in Puquio and the Mantaro region, in this area. In fact, by presenting different types of *mestizos*, Arguedas was able to call into question a whole Andean nomenclature of *mestizaje*, the subtleties of which, as seen, arise in categories such as *cholo* or *ex indio*. The cultural ambiguities of *mestizaje* are thus accentuated by spatial and temporal relocation, the collapse of the semi-feudal *hacienda* system in Apurímac and the absence of an immediately viable economic alternative for the region, factors overcome in the Mantaro valley, suggesting that class differences continue to be submerged by ethnic or socio-cultural ones. This seems to correlate with the evolution of Arguedas' ideas on *mestizaje* as highlighted by Manrique (1995a, 77-89) and mentioned at the beginning of this section.[55] By situating *TLS* at the centre of this changing attitude towards *mestizaje*, the plurality of the latter comes into clearer focus.

Arguedas defines the *mestizo* in the Andes as an 'individuo social y culturalmente intermedio'[56] and highlights the importance once again of ethnic indices in determining his position: 'El indio que aprendía el idioma castellano...se convertía en hombre distinto del indio.'[57] This cultural ambiguity and the intermediary position in

[55] In fact, as will become increasingly apparent, Arguedas' literary work was always one step ahead of his anthropological studies, transcending rigid epistemological frameworks by evoking multiplicity *and* cultural synthesis. The thesis on Zamora, with its overt comparative methodology and poetic digressions, stands in an intermediary position between previous anthropological work and subsequent literary production.
[56] 'Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 189-197 (p. 196).
[57] Ibid., 154.

the system of stratification, makes the *mestizos* conflictive individuals or, as Arguedas says, 'angustiados' (1986a, 237), revealing a dramatic potential suitable for the creative task of the writer. Arguedas is keenly aware of this (1986a, 236), particularly since it fits in with his aim to dismantle both the dualist tendency and the *mestizaje* agenda of his literary associates. Ethnic ambiguity, therefore, is revealed in the blurred lines between Indian and *mestizo* workers and the acquisition of *mestizo* identity by Indians in the mine, as has been mentioned, establishing a link with the situation in particular *ayllus* of Puquio. The *vecinos*, settled in an ethnically heterogeneous shanty-town of Lima (p. 352), meanwhile, experience a similar clouding of their identity, now regarded as *mestizos*, whilst attempts to counter this, and initial displacement, by grouping together in provincial clubs can also be witnessed.

Focusing on the *cholo* group may help to unveil some of the ambiguity shrouding the *mestizo* group in *TLS*. Although the term *cholo* can be traced back to colonial times in Peru, it has been used, as seen in the first section of this chapter and in the work by Bourricaud (1967; 1975) and Franco (1991), to represent a twentieth-century phenomenon and a modern social type. For sociologists today, the *cholo* incarnates an emergent social type when migration in the 1950s and 1960s began to redraw the lines defining socio-cultural identities and relations since the colonial era. The product of flux and fluidity brought about by an expanded communication network, this figure represents the different degrees and directions of the migration and urbanization process, both the rural-to-urban flow or the urban penetration of the *sierra*. In many ways, therefore, he reveals the heterogeneity of the lower-middle classes in both urban and rural contexts. He differs from the traditional provincial town *mestizo* because the latter, although not fully integrated in the *vecino* class, bears more affinity towards it than to the Indians. Though upwardly mobile, the *cholo* has more in common with the indigenous community from which he has emerged than the *mestizo* or *vecino* groups to which he aspires. By most, including himself, however, the *cholo* is frequently placed in the category of the *mestizo*. In *TLS*, the *cholo* group is diffuse and reflects a wide range of affiliations, from those of the *ex indio* Rendón, in many ways a *comunero* since he occupies a *varayoq* position, to those of the *hacendado* Cisneros, with a string of public officials at a midway point.

These officials, occupying positions in the local administration of the unnamed capital of the province, are not considered *cholos* but their ethnic ambiguity, like that of the latter, is their most striking feature. The Judge, for example, is described as having 'facciones casi indias' but because he is 'correctamente vestido' (p. 375) and holds a public post he is considered a *vecino*. The Sub-prefect Llerena, meanwhile, is described as a both a 'vecino hambriento' (p. 284) and as a 'mestizo' (p. 378). This ethnic ambivalence means that they shun and are shunned by *vecinos* and *indios* alike. Perico, the son of Bellido, who acts as a foil to Rendón, reveals the sense of alienation which can result from this. Dressing in an 'americana' and 'corbata' (p. 52), he is seen as a 'extranjero elegante' (p. 178) to most, whilst his sense of superiority towards his father and Gregorio (referred to as *mestizos*), and the poorer *vecinos*, may arise from his title of 'caballero' (p. 92) after attending accountancy classes in Lima, but is reduced to burlesque posturings in San Pedro. In a desire to avenge himself of the *vecinos* who taunted him at school (p. 93), he decides on a militant stance as an anarchist but the fact that this sits uncomfortably on his shoulders: 'no impresionaba bien' (p. 180), draws a striking contrast to Rendón. In fact, revealing the *cholo* as synonymous with disarticulation and displacement, like the *forasteros* Cabrejos and the Zar, or acculturation, like the *pongos* and *colonos*, is clearly the aim of Arguedas here, pointing to his growing pessimism towards *mestizaje*.[58]

Arguedas' ear for cultural ambiguity embedded in nomenclature systems and his obvious awareness of the dramatic potential of this, however, make the dialogues in *TLS* ritualized encounters where characters repeatedly confront each other in order to negotiate their identities. As the meeting between don Bruno and Pedraza reveals, rather than clarifying the issue of the latter's identity, the terms exchanged in an attempt to define him render him all the more equivocal:

-Don Bruno, ¿me hace el honor de aceptarme una copita? - dijo Pedraza,

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[58] This is clearly expressed in Arguedas' attack of modern day sculptors, where he equates the 'mentalidad "chola"' with cultural mimicry and identity loss: 'intenta arrolladora e impotentemente incorporarse al grupo socialmente dominante, y que concluye por descarnarse de los valores y normas de conducta tradicionales sin alcanzar a asimilar las de los grupos dominantes. Se queda a medio camino, y su mentalidad es amorfa' ('Del retablo mágico al retablo mercantil', *El Comercio, Suplemento Dominical* (Lima), 30 December 1962, p. 8 (repr. in *Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua* (Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial, 1976), pp. 248-254).

cuando el alférez los dejó en la plaza.

-Con mucho gusto, señor Pedraza. Usted no es un mestizo.

-En Celendín no hay indios.

-Por tanto no hay mestizos.

-Todos somos como mestizos allá.

-Pero usted es lo que yo llamaría un hombre derecho, es decir, un caballero.

(p. 287)

Pedraza's being 'alto, blanco' (p. 288) and speaking correct Spanish, together with the fact that in Celendín 'todos eran blancos' (p. 297), makes him a *vecino*, whilst still being a *mayordomo* working for the *cholo* Cisneros.[59]

b. Identities in Transformation and Emergent Paradigms of *Mestizaje*: An Archetypalizing Discourse

The anthropological studies of the central *sierra* and the market of Huancayo in the 1950s, reveal Arguedas' acute awareness of cultural interaction between different social groups. What is more, as Manrique (1995a) has shown, one can trace the evolution of Arguedas' views on *mestizaje* when one places the study of Puquio, where the socio-cultural changes were greeted with a qualified optimism bordering on scepticism, alongside that of the Mantaro valley, where miscegenation was regarded with wholesale enthusiasm. The cultural particularities of the Mantaro region were such that not only was the level of *mestizaje* a lot higher than other regions of the country, but, according to Arguedas, was more positive. The latter saw that it was the particular status attributed to the Indian population (seen as allies by the Spanish) and the subsequent late settlement of the *criollo* population, which strengthened the cultural bases of the local Indian population, making migration to Huancayo and miscegenation more peaceable:

[59] Celendín lies in Cajamarca, an area which saw an early defeat of the local indigenous population by the Spanish due to its distance from the Inca heartland, and subsequent rapid miscegenation. This is repeatedly confirmed by Arguedas who took pains to establish the regional differences of Peru throughout his anthropological work (see, for example, 'La sierra en el proceso de la cultura peruana', *La Prensa* (Lima), 23 September 1953, pp. 2-3 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 9-27 (p. 23)).

'La influencia de estos complejos factores transformaron al indio del valle en el mestizo actual de habla española, sin desarraigarlo y sin destruir su personalidad. Se produjo un proceso de transculturación en masa bajo el impulso de los más poderosos factores transformantes que en esta zona actuaron simultáneamente.'[60] This culminates in the image of Huancayo which, lacking the impediment of an entrenched colonial structure, offers a new identity of 'citizenship' based on less rigid race and class lines to its inhabitants.[61]

An element of hyperbole may be perceived here, the valley's capacity for integration becoming a useful paradigm for other regions. Manrique links this interest in *mestizaje* to Arguedas' susceptibility to North American culturalist theory, as mentioned previously,[62] but highlights the transition in Arguedas' ideas as the decade wore on. By the time he wrote *TLS*, in the early 1960s, Arguedas was in mid re-evaluation, as is evident if one juxtaposes the text *El complejo cultural en el Perú* (1952) with that of *La cultura: un patrimonio difícil de colonizar* (1966). *TLS* reflects much of Arguedas' ambivalence towards the notion of *mestizaje* at this time. As has been seen in the previous section, the *mestizo*, amongst other characters, is rendered heterogeneous and ambivalent in ethnic terms by the historicist discourse. In this section it will be revealed that in the midst of this heterogeneity Arguedas is able to select a type of *mestizo* or facet of the *mestizaje* process which he sees to be more representative of what is taking place and more viable as a model for the Andean region. Between the *cholo* Cisneros and the *ex indio* Rendón, for example, there is a world of difference, most importantly the question of acculturation. Arguedas' aim to create a model of unacculturated or asymmetrical *mestizaje*, one free from subordination, building on what he saw to be happening in the Mantaro region,[63] becomes apparent in *TLS*. Whilst the historicist discourse seeks to

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[60] Ibid., 12.

[61] Arguedas found that the city's culture of wage labour offered the possibility of 'ethnic equality' to its migrants: 'Y será un ciudadano, aun a la manera todavía ínfima, pero real, de los barredores municipales que chacchan coca y conversan en quechua...pero con la seguridad de que han de recibir un salario que permitirá, si lo deciden, entrar al restaurante "El Olímpico," y sentarse a la mesa, cerca o al lado de un alto funcionario oficial', in 'Evolución de las comunidades indígenas. El valle del Mantaro y la ciudad de Huancayo, un caso de fusión de culturas no comprometida por la acción de las instituciones de origen colonial', *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima), 26 (1957), 78-151 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 80-147 (p. 139)).

[62] Manrique points out that this was so prevalent at the time that even Valcárcel, then head of the Department of Anthropology at San Marcos, changed his views on *mestizaje*, in line with developments taking place in Mexican anthropology (1995a, 88). Arguedas' own enthusiasm for the latter is manifest in *El complejo cultural en el Perú*, written in 1952 under the sway of North American Functionalist theory.

[63] As Eve-Marie Fell highlights, the Mantaro valley became a useful point of contrast to other regions experiencing high levels of socio-economic and cultural polarization (1991, 86).

break down categories and reveal their cultural heterogeneity by evoking specific spatial and temporal contexts, therefore, spatial and temporal boundaries, presenting non-linear images of cultural continuity, are suspended as the archetypalizing discourse intervenes, so that *mestizo* characters who are able to move between past and present times and respond to the changes taking place in society begin to acquire symbolic resonance. Maintaining their ethnic heterogeneity due to their multiple characteristics and roles, they also reveal the processual nature of *mestizaje*, that is, that it exists as a continuum and changes over time. Soon enough, they begin to incarnate this process, situating themselves at the juncture of spatial and temporal loci and mediating between each. As such they are 'dialogical' in the true sense of Bakhtin's phrase (1994). This presents the reader with an image of *mestizaje* which resists acculturation precisely because it is fluid, maintaining all the hybridity configured by the historicist discourse. In opposition to traditional discourses on *mestizaje*[64] which assume integration, however much they may operate on a dialectical basis, Arguedas' concept of *mestizaje* is one of multiplicity where points of contact or intersections may occur between different elements. As Degregori, echoing the words of Cornejo Polar, has recently said, Arguedas evokes: 'fragmentación que puede no encontrar una unidad pero sí una articulación entre sus partes' (1995, 60), more in line with Martin Lienhard's concept of 'diglosia cultural' (1994) than Angel Rama's 'transculturation' (1982).

This image of points of contact, or articulation, between different parts may be illustrated by the example of the artisans who, due to their creative ability for selective assimilation and recreation, reveal a capacity for *mestizaje* in their work whilst avoiding acculturation. The need to respond creatively to present times whilst maintaining a foot in the past is, according to Arguedas who reiterates it throughout his essays,[65] crucial for cultural continuity. In many ways, the work of the artisans reflects the example of the Mantaro *mestizo* (Fell 1991, 92) and, at the best of times, the Indian community particularly during the colonial era.[66] The anthropologist Benjamin S. Orlove (1974)

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64 Or even opposite mind-sets such as racism, highlighted in the first section. In many ways Arguedas' *mestizos* in their ethnic ambiguity subvert hegemonic discourses based on race.

65 For example, 'Discusión de la narración peruana', *La Gaceta de Lima*, 11 (1960), 10.

66 See 'Razón de ser del indigenismo en el Perú', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 189-197 (p. 193). The Indian community's capacity for recreation represents, according to Rama (1985, 31), 'plasticidad cultural', although ultimately this operates within a framework of transculturation which seeks to fuse rather than reproduce difference.

reveals how the high population density and the relatively small amount of agricultural land in Sicuani, Cuzco, forced local people to supplement their income with other activities. One of these was artisan work but, due to the mixed rural-urban economy, the term artisan acquired a broad occupational range and was practised on both a full-time and part-time basis. This concurs with Lauer's study (1978) which links artisanal production to a changing economic landscape, suggesting that the uneven penetration of capitalism in the country has contributed to the heterogeneity of artisanal work which often combines artistic production with agriculture.[67] This image of the artisan reflects many of the issues in the debate on ethnicity and a number of the qualities of the *mestizo* which Arguedas witnessed in Puquio and the Mantaro valley. The result of hybrid socio-economic conditions, the *mestizo*, like the artisan, incarnates this 'plasticity', as Rama would say (1985,31),[68] and reproduces it in his work methods.

Arguedas' interest in the artisan as a prototype for his concept of *mestizaje* comes through in his anthropological thesis. Due to Bermillo's status as a bureaucratic and market town, geographically positioned in the centre of the province, it not only has the largest number of shops in the area but holds an important market fair.[69] This creates a stimulating environment for artisans who, as in many parts of Peru as Orlove (1974) has shown, have a wide occupational range, varying from 'peluqueros' to 'zapateros' (Arguedas 1968a, 70). As has been witnessed, the artisans are classified as *señoritos* in Bermillo's system of social stratification, so that although they occupy the lowest strata of this rank, they are considered superior to farm labourers (*vecinos*) whose relationship with the land places them at the lowest end of the social ladder: 'Quién trabaja la tierra ocupa inexorablemente, la clase baja' (Arguedas 1968a, 70).

After situating the artisans of Bermillo in the local system of stratification and differentiating them from farm labourers, Arguedas traces in detail the internal dynamics of the group. Whilst some artisans are seen to occupy a tertiary position in the

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[67] Lauer also tries to establish whether artisanal production is determined by the market or vice versa, giving the example of the *indigenistas* of the 1920s who created a new market for artisanal work as an aesthetic commodity when it was in decline (1978, 29; 33). See also José María Arguedas, 'José Sabogal y las artes populares en el Perú', *Folklore Americano* (Lima), 4/4 (1956), 241-245.

[68] See also Rama (1975, xviii).

[69] Arguedas compares this to the fair of Huancayo on which he carried out extensive research between 1951-55, although he confirms the larger size and greater impact of the latter on the local economy. This study, *Estudio etnográfico de la feria de Huancayo*, together with that on the Mantaro valley, were presented as *Dos estudios sobre Huancayo* and submitted for Arguedas' BA in Anthropology in 1957.

señorito class system, alongside low ranking public employees such as bank clerks, enjoying the patronage of higher ranking *señoritos*, and thus a degree of economic autonomy, not to mention social prestige, other artisans, the 'artesanos de segunda clase', are regarded as 'fourth class' *señoritos* due to the need to combine their work with agricultural activities. Whilst this creates a bond with other *vecinos*, it distances them almost irrevocably from the *señoritos* and the artisans who enjoy their patronage (Arguedas 1968a, 186). They are considered superior to the *labradores*, but inferior to higher ranking *señoritos*. The 'odio de castas' (Arguedas 1968a, 138) in Bermillo is such, therefore, that it creates rifts within and across group boundaries. This contrasts with La Muga where status and prestige derive almost exclusively from owning and working the land, the artisan here forced to combine the two: 'quien no trabaja la tierra y se queda en casa a coser trapos o remendar o fabricar zapatos, es de menos valer, un "artista," un "golfo"' (Arguedas 1968a, 280).

Despite the presence of these artisans and their general esteem by other members of society, Arguedas witnessed a crippling lack of artistic activity in Sayago. According to one of Arguedas' informants, C. A., recent market economics, 'las vacas y el trigo' (Arguedas 1968a, 73), are responsible for heightening the work ethos, and politics, the Civil War and Franco, for stifling popular art forms such as dances and songs, so that the latter survive only as the privileged pursuit of a handful of *señoritos* or schoolchildren. As such, the *tamborilero* in La Muga combines playing the 'gaita' with weaving cloth in order to be considered productive and gain acceptance amongst the *vecinos* (Arguedas 1968a, 317). The artisan as a creator of artistic forms thus loses prominence in Sayago although he gains focus as a cultural figure, as Arguedas soon discovers. Moving between social groups and strata, as has been seen, the artisan comes to represent for Arguedas the socio-cultural mobility of a society responding to external forces, an increasingly global market, despite apparent isolation and insularity. The blacksmith in Bermillo is an example of this, his workshop referred to pointedly as 'un centro de recreación' (Arguedas 1968a, 70), bringing together clients from all social sectors. It is the itinerant artisans passing through Bermillo and La Muga, however, who capture Arguedas' imagination. These figures who transcend spatial and temporal boundaries, link up otherwise isolated villages as communicators of local histories: 'Les llevaban

noticias...Constituían un vínculo activo, casi el único, entre estas comunidades y las más lejanas y algunas ciudades, porque el labrador es alfabeto pero no lee periódicos' (Arguedas 1968a, 72).[70]

The fact that certain characters in *TLS* share some of the qualities of these artisans is no coincidence when one takes into account the role of these in Sayago society. Bellido, for example, can be seen to parallel the figure of the blacksmith in Bermillo directly, enjoying the esteem of the *vecinos* of San Pedro such as don Fermín who refers to him as an 'artesano fino' (p. 177), echoing the *señoritos'* regard for the artisans' work as 'trabajo fino' in Bermillo (Arguedas 1968a, 186). Like the *herrero*, Bellido's position in the stratification system is an intermediary one, his work as a blacksmith catering for the *vecinos*, whilst his emotional affiliations lie with the Indian community. This is revealed during doña Rosario's Indian funeral when he gets caught up in the swell of *colonos* and joins in their singing (p. 227). Now described as a 'gran herrero mestizo' (p. 227), Arguedas' enthusiasm for this character and desire to attribute him with symbolic resonance is in no doubt.

The term 'herrero mestizo' brings together two fundamental criteria for Arguedas' project of archetype-building: the roles of the artisan and the *mestizo* as vehicles for socio-cultural mobility. From now on Bellido is described in heightened terms by all the characters: 'mestizo fino' (p. 177), by don Fermín; 'fuerte e inocente como el cielo' (p. 214) by don Bruno; 'noble sampedrino' (p. 217) by Asunta and so on. His gradual transformation into a 'cultural hero' figure reaches its culmination when Llerena and his troops arrive in San Pedro. By appealing to a higher source of justice representing a fusion of Catholic and indigenous elements: '¡San Gabriel está sobre el Pukasira, con su espada!' (p. 367), Bellido attempts to counteract the *costeño* powers represented by the soldiers. Through a process of association which evokes him as a 'gavilán' (p. 375), Bellido is equated with the source of justice embodied in the mountain *apus* after his death. This enhances the emotional affinity he had with the *comuneros* during his lifetime so that, like don Andrés and doña Rosario before him, he receives an Indian funeral and enters the pantheon of the Indian dead on the K'oropuna mountain.

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70 The mobility and contact with the outside world makes this figure comparable to the *forasteros* of the colonial era who acquired *mestizo* identity by moving from one geographic area to another and were thus able to pass from one social stratum to another.

It also enables the factionalized *vecinos*, perceiving his death as a martyrdom, to consolidate their forces and forge links with the *comuneros*, crucial for the defeat of their adversaries.

The fusion of *artesano* and *mestizo* in the figure of Bellido stems from his role as a vehicle of cultural mobility, as mentioned, but it is in the study of artistic production in Huamanga,[71] that Arguedas makes a direct link between artisanal work and the *mestizo* sector, the largest consumer of popular religious art during and after the colonial era and the ethnic group best able to bring together influences from two cultural spheres without undermining the integrity of either.[72] This group included the sculptor don Joaquín López Antay whose mother was from a family of Indian smallholders, the economic independence they derived from agricultural work enabling them to dedicate themselves to artisanal work.[73] Don López's sense of autonomy is manifest in his *mestizo* pride, defending his spoken Spanish with 'imponente altivez' and refusal to produce on a mass scale.[74] Most importantly for Arguedas, however, this figure's *mestizo* status represents a bulwark against cultural obsolescence by carefully combining two opposing cultures: 'Esta doble participación, de las culturas nativa y occidental, se realiza en ciertos mestizos, como en el caso de Joaquín López, de manera armónica y bien integrada',[75] so that he can continue producing cultural objects as close to their original form as possible.[76] Turning to the study of the Mantaro valley, Arguedas sees artisan work as the basis for the rapid capitalization of the region which absorbs the local work-force and transforms it into *mestizos* (Fell 1991, 91-92; Manrique 1995a, 86). When one takes into account the reciprocal nature of this, that increased capitalist activity also safeguards artisanal work, just as the latter in turn preserves elements from

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71 'Notas elementales sobre el arte popular religioso y la cultura mestiza de Huamanga', *Revista del Museo Nacional* (Lima), 27 (1958), 140-194 (repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 148-172).

72 As Manrique points out, the late settlement of the Spanish in the area, together with their activities such as artisanal work, contributed to the higher level of *mestizaje* in this region (1995a, 83).

73 Op. cit., 158.

74 Ibid., 160; 169.

75 Ibid., 166.

76 Ibid., 172. This, as has been pointed out, is due to the renewed interest by *indigenistas* in his work (Arguedas 1976, 251). Lauer suggests that this enabled artisans to continue producing work as it had been originally, as an expression of ethnic identity (1978, 43).

indigenous culture, one begins to understand the extent of Arguedas' enthusiasm for it.[77]

The significance attributed to artisans in *TLS*, other than Bellido, is not immediately apparent, but when one takes into account its broad semantic range, that is, the heterogeneity of the artisan, one sees that various characters fall into this category, each combining some form of creative activity, at practical and symbolic levels, with the ethnic status of *mestizo*. One character who makes an all too brief appearance of far-reaching importance is the un-named painter of the chapel of La Esperanza. Like his counterparts in the thesis, he too is itinerant and like the other artisans in the novel, Bellido amongst them, he represents a cultural agent mediating between social spheres. This makes one think of José Sabogal who, as a *mestizo*, used techniques stemming from different cultural universes. As Arguedas reminds us, Sabogal's work had much in common with colonial art which employed both Indian and Spanish artistic techniques. When the painter in *TLS* says 'soy antiguo' (p. 421) one thinks of his representing these colonial cultural practices and when he paints the Last Supper with Judas depicted as Cisneros, one perceives all too clearly the ability for re-elaboration. The result also has much in common with the work of don López Antay, who reworked traditional elements into pieces with latter-day relevance (Arguedas 1976, 251). Like the sculptor, the painter's work in *TLS* has subversive implications. When the Indian *colonos* enter the chapel they immediately recognize the face of Cisneros on Judas. This visual link-up or superimposition of two adversaries, both old and new, establishes a continuity of oppression and opposition to it. The artisan as an interpreter of the history of a community thus acquires new salience as he mobilizes a symbolic discourse for the purpose of cultural resistance.

This notion of cultural resistance and regeneration is also established orally and aurally, as performance, through song and music. The role of songs in the novel has been closely examined by critics such as William Rowe (1979; 1996) and Chapter Four explores the role of women as their principle conveyors. Here, the scope of the *mestizo* artisan will be extended further to include musicians as vehicles of oral tradition and

[77] Arguedas saw this in the *feria* of Huancayo which, despite its rapid commercialization, remained artisanal in character. See 'Estudio etnográfico de la feria de Huancayo', in *Dos estudios sobre Huancayo* (Huancayo: Universidad Nacional del Centro del Perú, 1977).

memory. In his appraisal of Raúl García, Arguedas reveals how the *mestizo* community had access to the musical repertoire of the Indian community due to its intermediary socio-cultural position (Arguedas 1976, 240). The fact that it interpreted this music with Spanish instruments (the guitar) is seen by Arguedas not only to have invested the music with new meanings, as in the case of songs written in Spanish (Arguedas 1976, 236), but to have overturned potential cultural imperialism (Arguedas 1976, 240). What is being stressed here is the interpretative capacity of the *mestizo* community, its 'sabiduría' (Arguedas 1976, 251), which stems from its knowledge of both cultural spheres and its ability to employ their symbols. According to Arguedas, it is this which gives *mestizo* music greater cultural resonance. As in the case of the *retablos*, their magical content may be diminished, or have become secularized, but their form maintains a link with the past (Arguedas 1976, 252; 256).

In *TLS*, Gregorio's experience of the Limeño shanty towns and his unrequited love for Asunta pervade his music and reflect the disarticulation and isolation of the *mestizo* community. Unlike the indigenous sentiment of *la soledad cósmica*, which evokes a communal severing of ties at social and cosmic levels after contact with the Spanish,[78] the *mestizo* sentiment, embodied in Gregorio, reflects a more acute sense of loss since here separation is perceived as a breaking of ties between orders and is experienced on an individual level.[79] The concentration with which Gregorio plays, reflected in the muscular tautness of his face, however, acts as a cohesive force: 'Uno de sus ojos no se movía bien; una especie de rigidez muscular entorpecía esa parte alta de su rostro...le daban a su rostro una expresión entre angustiosa y enérgica' (p. 92). The expression comes to represent a totality which overturns Gregorio's displacement and the sense of rupture between the social and cosmic orders: 'El ojo inmóvil de Gregorio...parecía haber recibido el silencio de todas las cosas del mundo...la imagen total de la morada en que estamos viviendo' (p. 125). The ability to convey and interpret music through one's bodily movements, giving music an almost concrete physicality, is also revealed in

[78] José María Arguedas, 'La soledad cósmica en la poesía quechua', *Idea, Artes y Letras* (Lima), 48-49 (1961a), 1-2.

[79] This important distinction is made by Rowe in his analysis of songs in *TLS*: 'En las canciones mestizas, así como la naturaleza ya no sumistra un lenguaje adecuado para la emoción, asimismo el tema de la separación, que en las canciones tradicionales quechuas se concibe como la separación *dentro de* la naturaleza, viene a ser separación *de* la naturaleza' (1979, 174), and is explored in more detail in Chapter Four.

Arguedas' description of Jaime Guardia and his group: 'Los Andes...cantan, no sólo por la garganta...sino a través del rostro y del cuerpo...que vibra y se mece' (Arguedas 1976, 238), making the music played acquire the sentiment of *la soledad cósmica* where separation or solitude is perceived in the natural (and social) order, as evoked by Gregorio's playing in *TLS*: 'Desde qué honduras...llegaban esas notas en que el universo nocturno se recreaba llorando?' (p. 125). Rendón reveals that where initially the theme of Gregorio's unrequited love pervaded his music (p. 169), attributed to his position as a *mestizo*, by the time of his death it has embraced some of the communal elements of *la soledad cósmica*: 'pero en tu charanguito llorábamos, papay, indios, comuneros, mestizos, vecinos hambrientos; todo, todo; los pajaritos y alma de los perros también llorábamos' (p. 142). *La soledad cósmica* may be seen to express rupture but it also unites a community suffering from it.

The study of the *mestizo* artisan in Arguedas' anthropological work and in *TLS* reveals the character's fluid position along ethnic lines and the confluence of spatial and temporal frameworks as the archetypalizing discourse gets underway. His acquisition of an archetypal dimension thus stems directly from his position at the juncture of different spatial and temporal systems and his ability to manipulate the symbology of each. That Arguedas should derive personal inspiration from these figures and their work is clear when one takes into account the way he himself worked and the way in which he viewed this work. In the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* (Arguedas 1986a, 197-202), Escobar refers to the role of intuition in selecting and creating symbols and distinguishes Arguedas from other writers whose technical expertise overrides their spontaneous elaboration of artistic forms. In his desire to synthesize and express a 'totality' (an image of the Peruvian nation as he saw it), Arguedas' intuition is paramount for the selection and reformulation of key elements of Peruvian historical experience.

Drawing inspiration from elements at a vernacular level and refashioning them into a piece which transcended this whilst not relinquishing its ties to it, is in essence what the artisan of the colonial period was doing. Here, the transition from the 'magical' to the 'profane' is not seen as a rupture but as a necessary transition in which the former is preserved by the latter. The re-elaboration of traditional forms and their inevitable

secularization as they respond to new socio-economic and cultural realities is thus seen as indispensable for cultural continuity. In many ways Arguedas' attitude towards *indigenismo* follows in this line, since in many ways he can be seen as working within its framework to invest it with new potential. Meanwhile, the ability to evoke a plurality of elements never diminished by the sum of their parts counters rigid stratification frameworks associated with systems of power and the all too homogenizing attempts to elude these. Multiplicity rather than *mestizaje* becomes Arguedas' pursuit in the later years.

Chapter Two: Land, Labour and the Dynamics of Power in an Agrarian Society

i) Capitalism and Ethnicity in the Andes

As seen from the previous chapter, the semantic heterogeneity of terms such as *indio, mestizo, cholo* or *misti* is due as much to cultural factors as to class ones. As Jorge A. Flores Ochoa points out: 'La confusión también se debe a la posibilidad de utilizarlos con variados significados de acuerdo a diferentes contextos culturales y sociales. En cierto modo el uso está condicionado a la posición social de las personas que las usan; en la relación que tienen con las personas para quienes se utiliza o del contexto en el que se los emplea' (1992, 206-207). In many ways, therefore, entering into the dynamics of local social relations and structures of power becomes a necessity if one is to come to a greater understanding of how categories of identity, and by extension the system of stratification as a whole, are employed and what they come to mean.

Since the 1950s, social scientific work in the Andes has been dominated by Marxist interpretive frameworks. Relations of production and exchange were seen to underscore all economic and socio-cultural activities, revealing structural conditions, such as semi-feudal relations of production and *gamonalismo,* which transcended geographical boundaries. The combination of capitalist and non-capitalist production was linked by these sociologists to the persistence of semi-feudal systems of land tenure and production, bolstered by an alliance between landowning and imperialist, first British then North American, powers.[1] This image of a mixed economic landscape and a government policy apparently in favour of modernity but still resting heavily on patriarchal ties, suggests that social relations and categories of identity are fluid, open to daily contest and negotiation.

Analyses of categories of ethnic identity reveal, as seen in the previous chapter, a combination of cultural and class elements. This chapter will explore these elements in a

[1] This, for example, is the thesis of Rodrigo Montoya (1980a). According to him, capitalism came to the continent due to the needs of the imperialist powers in Europe and North America. As such a dependent form of capitalism arose which undermined the possibility of proletarianizing the work-force, in this case the peasantry.

more concrete form by focusing on land tenure and labour or production methods. In what is a predominantly agrarian society, the southern *sierra* and the context represented in *TLS*, these factors are seen to determine the system of socio-economic stratification directly and simultaneously to help to foster a sense of cultural continuity. Local systems of land tenure and production methods are issues Rodrigo Montoya (1980a) focuses on when exploring the regional axis Lima-Puquio-Andahuaylas between 1890 and 1960, revealing mixed capitalist and non-capitalist elements due to seasonal links with the coast. They are also highlighted by Antonio Díaz Martínez (1985) in his idiosyncratic account of Ayacucho between 1965-1969. This regional axis, with its heterogeneous forms of production, will be utilized in this chapter since it coincides remarkably closely with that represented by Arguedas in *TLS*, although more emphasis will be given to the Apurímac-Andahuaylas area in keeping with the novel.[2] For the latter, I have used some of the material collected by Rodrigo Sánchez Enríquez (1981) and Lino Quintanilla (1981) in their study of the region in the prelude to the land invasions of 1974.

This will be followed by an analysis of the ambivalent effects capitalism has on the *ayllu* in the Andes by focusing on Henri Favre (1977) and Barbara Badby's (1982) studies of peasant communities in Huancavelica. Capitalist penetration was seen simultaneously to stratify and sustain *ayllus*, ultimately leading to the consolidation of new communities in the form of the breakaway *ayllus*. When placed in a context of historical continuity, or diachronism, capitalist agents were seen to be prevalent since early colonial times, echoing some of the points made in the previous chapter.[3] This, together with the fact that Inca and Spanish state policy actively supported the maintenance of the *ayllu* for revenue and population control, may be seen to contribute to the survival of the latter in present times.

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[2] Arguedas' remarks in the *Mesa redonda sobre Todas las sangres* (Arguedas 1985, 45-46) confirm Andahuaylas as the setting for *TLS*, although elements from other regions he had experience of and had conducted field-work in (Puquio and the Mantaro valley) were also worked in, ultimately fuelling the archetypalizing discourse by ascribing paradigmatic dimensions and establishing spatial and temporal, or chronotopic, continuities between them. What Arguedas was in fact doing, therefore, was extending or building on the Lima-Puquio-Andahuaylas regional axis (Montoya 1980a) by adding new geocultural elements to it.

[3] Harris points out how tribute was now paid in money and products sold on the market. According to her, this contributed to the emergence of a mixed economic landscape which she terms an 'ethnic economy' (1995, 368).

Historiography of Apurímac-Andahuaylas

Until the land-invasions of 1974, Andahuaylas was a predominantly rural province with eighty-four per cent of the population living from the land. Illiteracy levels were high (eighty-five per cent of adults), and forty-eight per cent of the population were monolingual Quechua speakers.[4] The local economy was centred on the *hacienda* which combined maize, citrus fruit and sugar cane production with cattle farming. In 1972, the relationship between population and cultivated land was 0.63 ha per person and 2.9 ha per family (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 32). This contrasted with the number of *haciendas*, up to one hundred and forty, which ranged from fifty to eighteen thousand hectares in size (Quintanilla 1981, 22). The predominance of the *hacienda* and the existence of *minifundios* both within and outside its parameters meant that the majority of agricultural land in the region was thus in private hands. Together with this, the more irrigated land also tended to be privately owned, directly by *hacendados* and *comuneros*, or indirectly by *colonos* or *feudatarios* renting land from the former. Communal land in the communities (registered at forty-eight in 1972) tended to be of lower quality and for pasturing uses.

Land structure in Andahuaylas was linked to the production of maize and sugar cane in more temperate zones and cattle pasturing in highland regions. In his study of Puquio, Montoya (1980a) points out that the system of 'producción parcelaria', whilst following pre-Columbian vertical modes of production which were particularly well suited to the ecological composition of the area, had an ambivalent effect on the Indian population, simultaneously protecting and hampering their economic autonomy. The same can be said of Andahuaylas where *minifundios* co-existed alongside or within *hacienda* grounds. Owning their own plot of land made *comuneros* less dependent on the *hacendado* but also impeded large-scale production for sale on the market. Plots were generally too small even for subsistence and many had to complement their work with labour for the *hacienda*. Thus, although they were important producers of agricultural goods and cattle, *comuneros* still had to work as labourers for three or four days a week in return for money, food or, more commonly, land. This worked both ways, since by advancing the *comunero* land, the *hacendado* would also ensure a steady supply of labour.

[4] These figures have been compiled by Sánchez Enríquez based on the national censuses taken in 1961 and 1972 (1981, 32). According to Sánchez Enríquez and the 1972 Censo Agropecuario, in Andarapa fifty-nine per cent of peasant families owned less than 1 hectare of land (1981, 41).

As has been mentioned, production was destined both for family consumption and for the market. This mixed economic panorama meant that although the peasantry was obliged to work on the *hacienda* in exchange for land, it was also able to retain its own lands in the community. A dual system of large *haciendas* and 'producción parcelaria' thus arose. Whilst this led to *hacendado* land being composed of dispersed plots of land, it also led to a emergent class of *minifundistas* amongst the peasants. The failure to pay the labourer a salary per se, however, meant that the latter was prevented from entering fully into capitalist production by accumulating capital and reinvesting in agriculture. Thus, because most of the peasants worked on a seasonal basis for the landowner and, when routes did open up, still had predominantly seasonal links with the coast, they did not become fully proletarianized. This was compounded by the fact that the *vecino* class did not become a fully fledged bourgeoisie by relinquishing its land ties.

Production on *haciendas* in temperate zones, as mentioned, centred mainly on sugar cane for alcohol and on citrus fruits. In isolated instances this induced a higher degree of technological modernization than in other areas. This was the case in the Pincos *hacienda*, for example, which was taken over by German immigrants who introduced salaried labour.[5] Even when it declined in Andahuaylas, due to the *Estanco del Alcohol* set up in 1924 and due to the cultivation of cane on the coastal plantations of Nazca and Acarí, cane production for local consumption, though more expensive, continued.

Social position on the *hacienda*, depended to a great degree on the amount of land and cattle one owned and the type of work one carried out while these in turn relied on one's relations with the local *hacendado*. According to Sánchez Enríquez (1981, 53-56) the *hacienda* comprised a wide network of socio-economic positions: *suerteros*, who were given a plot of land but had to hand over a proportion of the harvest for consumption by the *hacendado; faeneros* who were contracted for specific tasks such as planting and harvesting and who were paid a salary, or more commonly given an *adelanto* of food or alcohol; *camayos* who had to perform tasks in exchange for a plot of land; *yanapacus* who

[5] For more details on this see Harold O. Skar, 'The Warm Valley People: Duality and Land Reform Among the Quechua Indians of Highland Peru' (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1982).

were contracted by other *colonos* or *comuneros* to carry out labour duties, and *pongos* (usually women (*mitanis*) and children) who carried out domestic duties in the *hacienda* house.

The main road in the province led to Ayacucho in the north and to Abancay in the south. This was the major route for migration and trade. Through Ayacucho/Huancayo or Puquio/Lomas, people and produce arrived in Lima. Buyers would also come from neighbouring provinces such as Lucanas and Ayacucho to buy herds. Alfalfa was not generally grown in Andahuaylas due to the scarcity of irrigated land and lowland valleys given over to the cultivation of cane, as mentioned. However, because alfalfa was grown in Puquio and cattle bought from Nazca and Andahuaylas, an 'eje de ganado vacuno' (Montoya 1980a, 52) was established between the three regions. Capitalist agents in the trading axis Lima-Puquio-Andahuaylas were active between 1890-1945, representing a new breed of 'terratenientes-ganaderos-comerciantes' (Montoya 1980a, 295) who initially had a monopoly over trade with Lima, by transporting products along muleteer tracks to Lomas and from there in boats to the capital, and fixing prices in accordance with urban demand. These middle men became pivotal figures negotiating not only between *vecinos* and Indians, but between *vecinos* and international companies. This group's control over local trade was severely undermined, however, with the construction of road networks and competition in sugar production from the coast.

Due to poor communication links in Andahuaylas itself, the landowning class had a monopoly over exchange relations even when cane and coca production were replaced with export crops such as coffee and citrus fruits, and *cube*, an organic fertilizer. Commercial activity between Indians was also hindered by the latter's extreme poverty and dependence on the *hacienda* for a livelihood. In the neighbouring provinces of La Mar and the valley of San Miguel, the *hacienda* Patibamba was exemplary,[6] producing citrus fruits, cane sugar and dairy products, and hiring labour from Indian families in return for small plots of irrigated land within the *hacienda*. Meanwhile, the valley of Apurímac, between the rivers Pampas and Apurímac, was first colonized by landowners

[6] Interestingly enough, this is the *hacienda* bordering the river Pachachaca which Arguedas evokes in *RP* and which he refers to in *Motivaciones del escritor* as being one of the *haciendas* he stayed at as a child (Arguedas 1989a, 19)

from the *sierra* and Huanta attracted by conditions propitious for the cultivation of cane and cacao. By offering land, food and alcohol, they were able to secure labour from impoverished Indians through a system of *enganche* or *endeudamiento*. Landowners also charged *yerbaje*, labour or money in return for pasture land. Due to the lack of local industry in this region, reinvestment in agriculture was minimal. Díaz Martínez's interviews with *hacendados* highlight the latter's reluctance to buy machinery due to high interest rates on loans and the lack of guaranteed prices for products (1985, 61-62). The account of his travels around Ayacucho, particularly in the Apurímac valley, is full of observations of jungle colonization schemes, roads, schools and hydroelectric dams built on international credit, the burden of which fell on peasants (Díaz Martínez 1985, 79-82). The road linking Ayacucho to the Apurímac valley, for example, took thirty-five years to complete, in 1964 (Díaz Martínez 1985, 57).

Due to the enclave nature of capitalist production and exchange relations, therefore, wide scale capitalization of the economy in Andahuaylas was undermined. The classic transition from feudalism to capitalism was hampered because national and international commercial activities were in the hands of a minority. Whilst some sociologists maintain that the transition was a slow one, Sánchez Enríquez suggests it lasted from 1940 to 1960 (1981, 49), whilst Aníbal Quijano puts it from 1945 to 1968,[7] others, such as Montoya (1980a), prefer to speak of the dual existence of capitalist and non-capitalist forces. The latter argument seems particularly convincing in the case of Andahuaylas where privately owned land lay alongside communal property, in the *ayllus* themselves, and *hacienda* work relations combined with seasonal salaried work on coastal plantations or jungle development projects.

If local economic relations determine systems of social stratification, in a predominately rural area such as Andahuaylas, the roles played by land tenure and labour methods cannot be underestimated. If the basic unit of production in Andahuaylas until 1974 was the *hacienda*, with its characteristically low production levels and mixed economic orientation, the Indian community was divided between those who lived and worked on the *hacienda* (*colonos*, *feudatarios* or *hacienda runas*), those

[7] In his study on the relationship between the peasantry and imperialist powers in Peru, Aníbal Quijano mentions three periods of development: the period of semi-colonial capitalism, from 1890 to 1945; the period of transition, from 1945 to 1968, and the consolidation of capitalism after 1969 (1979, 1-25).

who lived in the free communities at its fringes (*comuneros*), and those who oscillated between the two, living in the *ayllus* but often renting land and working on the *hacienda*.[8] Significantly, in Apurímac the number of captive communities usually surpassed those which were 'free' due to the overriding need for land. *Haciendas* bordering the banks of the rivers Pachachaca, Apurímac and Pampas were large and numerous, Indian *ayllus* often engulfed in their very grounds. *Pongos* or *mitanis* usually outnumbered *comuneros*, unlike in Lucanas where the system of 'producción parcelaria' ensured the greater autonomy of the Indian peasantry.[9]

Despite apparently limited social mobility, due to poverty and an entrenched *hacienda* system, socio-cultural relations within and across group boundaries were fluid. Throughout Ayacucho, Díaz Martínez (1985, 68) witnessed poor *mestizos* speaking Quechua, bilingual *colonos* in captive communities, Spanish speaking *comuneros* travelling constantly to Lima and, in jungle areas, whole families trilingual in Quechua, Spanish and Campa. Instead of clearly demarcated groups of Indians, *vecinos* and *mestizos*, he encountered a transient population whose sense of identity shifted between jungle, mountain and coast. Those who owned land and cattle formed a local elite. Almost ten per cent of the indigenous population owned land in both *haciendas* and *ayllus*, often subrenting this to other *colonos* (*sub-arrendires* in Cuzco or La Convención). Acquisition of land and cattle rested on *compadrazgo* ties between *comuneros* and *colonos* and with local *hacendados*. A burgeoning group of *mestizo*, or *misti*, merchants with seasonal ties with urban centres also made its presence felt. This group too formed links with *hacendados*, enabling it to acquire land and cattle and gradually displace the local oligarchy. This, together with the demographic growth of the indigenous population, forced many landowners to rent or sell their land in exchange for credit, whilst others abandoned their property altogether, often destroying it first (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 51). This began to take place in the early 1960s in anticipation of the 1964 Agrarian Reform.[10]

[8] According to the Censo Nacional Agropecuario of 1972 cited by Sánchez Enríquez, twenty-one per cent of the peasant population were *comuneros*, thirty-seven and a half per cent were *feudatarios* and the remaining forty-one per cent, i.e. the majority, occupied both positions (1981, 44).

[9] Alongside Montoya (1979; 1980a), Arguedas' study of Puquio reveals this and is explored in more detail in the following section.

[10] As shall be seen in the next section, Arguedas explores this dynamic in *TLS* as the *vecino* community see its land base, and with it its social status, undermined.

Capitalism and the *Ayllu*: Community Organization and Ethnicity

Since colonial and pre-colonial times, the market economy and the *ayllu* in Peru have been inextricably and ambivalently linked. This has been accentuated in recent times by the penetration of capitalism at all levels of society. It is fair to suggest, therefore, that social stratification and organization in the *ayllu* has been determined to a large extent by the latter's relations with the market.

Two schools of thought arise from the issue of the *ayllu's* relationship with the market. One is that of the sceptics, who see capitalist relations as not only inevitable, but voluntarily engaged in by the *ayllu*. For these, the pre-Hispanic vertical model of production[11] and social organization was oppressive for the indigenous community, a means by which the local *curaca* elite and the Incas consolidated their hegemony. Capitalism, therefore, was seen to have a liberating effect on the majority of the population. In opposition to this group, are those who view the vertical model as the form of production most suited to the Andean terrain. Furthermore, they view the penetration of capitalism in rural areas as not only detrimental, leading to deculturation and dependency, but undesired, the native population resisting it as much as possible. Whether beneficial or damaging, the effects of capitalism on the *ayllu* have been seen to be significant in both consolidating and undermining ethnic identities and affiliations. Some communities have been seen to contract, whilst others to fall apart, and some ritual practices have been transformed. The effect of capitalism on the social organization of the *ayllu* will thus be traced with a view to highlighting some of the ambiguities and complexities of ethnicity in highland Peru.

Favre (1977) and Bradby (1982) have argued that far from being resistant to capitalism, pre-Columbian modes of production and circulation can co-exist with capitalist ones. Examples of this can be found in multinational mining corporations and large-scale farming for export, often funded by mining capital, lying alongside *haciendas* and *ayllus*. According to them, capitalist penetration both undermines and sustains traditional modes of production. In many cases, capitalist work relations and wage labour are so entrenched that the traditional pattern of subsistence farming has

11 See John Murra (1972) and a later reference in this section for more explanation of this concept.

inevitably been transformed. Taking the case of peasant communities in the Department of Huancavelica in central Peru, Bradby and Favre attribute secession, or the breaking away from the *ayllu* of origin, from the 1930s to the 1950s, to demographic growth, greater articulation with the market and the granting of legal status to the *ayllu*. Taking a longer view than Bradby, Favre traces this pattern back to the 1880s when cotton plantations on the coast began requiring more labour, particularly during the harvest season. Wages earned on these plantations contributed to the consolidation of new high altitude *ayllus*. The growth of the Indian population in the Republican era and the monopolization of land by *mestizos* and *criollos* also forced the Indian community to move further up the mountain range.

The topographical movement of the *ayllu* minimized vertical control over ecological zones and led to a greater specialization in production. Where a community once enjoyed access to both *puna* and valley, it now had control over either one of the two. Communities specialized and then traded with each other. Technological advances imported from Europe and the introduction of new crops and animals also strengthened the *ayllu*. In the case of *puna* communities which could not grow maize, for example, barley and wheat became substitutes, whilst these were traded for maize. Specialization and trade, together with the revenue derived from selling produce and seasonal work outside the *ayllu*, suggest that it is through horizontal articulation with the wider market, rather than through the vertical model of production, that communities were able to maintain their independence.

According to Favre, income derived from wage labour was invested in the community and, whilst it did not contribute to rapid proletarianization or full-scale incorporation into the market economy, it did help to sustain the *ayllu* in isolated regions and harsh climactic conditions. Nevertheless, it also had the contradictory effect of creating social cohesion and intra-community tension by stimulating a desire for autonomy. Demographic growth, the arrival of *mestizos* and even some impoverished *criollos* after Independence, also contributed to social stratification in the *ayllus*. Forced to escape oppression, the *comuneros* broke away by moving up the *puna* range. The establishment of new communities went hand in hand with a restructuring of kinship ties and matrimonial exchanges with neighbouring villages until a new sense of

common origin was created. According to Favre, as early as the 1880s wages earned on coastal plantations or mines financed the building of symbols of *ayllu* identity such as schools, churches and *cabildos*, and enabled the sponsoring of annual *fiestas*.

In her study of the same region, Bradby describes how the substitution of maize production with barley in one *ayllu* transforms its ritual celebration of the maize harvest. Whilst other aspects of the ritual continue as before, barley replaces maize as the crop being celebrated. This *ayllu's* economic independence from its neighbour, Huayllay, consolidates its socio-political organization with regular meetings of its *cabildo*, or general assembly.[12] Huayllay, meanwhile, also witnesses a resurgent interest in traditional religious and cultural activities. This may be due to the fact that as a lowland community it experiences more migration, inducing a nostalgic regard for the past or a need for a distinct cultural identity. Paradoxically, articulation with the wider market, private accumulation of wealth and greater class differentiation, consolidate cultural cohesion by keeping traditional ritual practices alive in both communities.[13] Thus, whilst in some cases capitalist forces may undermine traditional forms of economic production and socio-cultural organization, in others they may actually help to sustain them.[14]

ii) Negotiating Land, Labour and Identities in *Todas las sangres*

In answer to Bravo Bresani's (1966) calls for a closer alliance between literary and social scientific practices, the I.E.P. announced a series of *Mesa redondas* in June 1965 designed to bring literary critics and sociologists together in the analysis of contemporary Peruvian society and its representation in novels and the social sciences. One such *Mesa*

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[12] Interestingly, in the 1970s the *ayllu* also adopts a near Protestant ethic with regards to alcohol, music and dancing. The rejection of some aspects of tradition and the emergence of a modern community ethos is seen by Bradby to have been bolstered by government loans and grants for public works during the Velasco regime. This was something Arguedas foresaw in Puquio and was the reason for his ambivalence towards the changes taking place there. Whilst he was enthusiastic about the growth in socio-economic prosperity, he was sceptical of the cultural implications of this (the young, for example, were forgetting their myths).

[13] This was a process Arguedas witnessed in the Mantaro valley. See 'Evolución de las comunidades indígenas. El valle del Mantaro y la ciudad de Huancayo, un caso de fusión de culturas no comprometida por la acción de las instituciones de origen colonial', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 80-147.

[14] If capitalism or market relations both stratify and strengthen *ayllu* structures, this was bolstered by a state policy which can be traced back to the Inca era. Murra (1972) has written much about the Incas' use of the vertical model of production within the *ayllu* to consolidate socio-economic and political centralization. In colonial times, the government's need for revenue from the indigenous population meant that the *ayllu* unit was retained since it ensured the identity of Indians as tribute paying subjects and the control over the production and circulation of goods. As such it also became an effective means of political control.

redonda, attended by Arguedas, was that on the *haciendas* of Huancavelica led by Favre[15] and held on 9 June, two weeks before the *Mesa redonda* on *TLS*. A brief survey of some the issues raised by Favre provides an insight into the aims and concerns of ~~the~~ those involved in the debates. As Pinilla (1994, 162-163) has pointed out, the intellectual orientation of social scientists at this time (Rochabrún (1992) reminds us that during this period the social sciences were becoming consolidated as a discipline in the universities),[16] was heavily politicized, inspired by what she claims to be an increasingly Positivistic belief in the ability of scientific knowledge to understand and change society.

One of Favre's studies of the effects of seasonal labour and migration on the *ayllu* has already been mentioned, but here a closer exploration of his ideological agenda will be undertaken with reference to his work on the *hacienda* system, which formed the basis of the *Mesa redonda*.[17] At first sight, this study takes a historical overview, highlighting the cyclical disintegration and recomposition of *haciendas* in the central *sierra* from the early colonial era to the 1960s, the emergence of *mestizo* sectors which ultimately undermined the landed oligarchy, and the shift towards political and economic centralization on the coast. Attacking the unbridled liberal policies of those in power, Favre emphasized the inherent geoeconomic and political imbalance of this situation and the mitigating consequences it had for future development. However, beneath what appears to be an objective historico-sociological appraisal of the socio-economic structures of Peruvian reality, there are implicit ideological assumptions being made. Pinilla points out that Favre equates *indigenismo* with the *hacendado* class, the latter embracing the ideal of a pre-Columbian society, rooted firmly in the past and building on the Inca pyramidal structure of power, in order to tighten control over the indigenous population (1994, 130-131). According to Pinilla, this notion of *indigenismo* was not only

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15 Henri Favre, 'Evolución y situación de la hacienda tradicional de la región de Huancavelica', in *Hacienda, comunidad y campesinado en el Perú (Perú Problema 3)*, ed. by José Matos Mar (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1976), pp. 105-138. A fragment of this was included as an appendix to a short story written by Arguedas in 1966, entitled *Se muda el sol*. According to the editors of the collection in which it was printed (*José María Arguedas. Obras completas* (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1983), II, pp. 56-68), Arguedas, inspired by Favre's paper, wrote the story with its themes in mind. Because it was designed as the first chapter to a novel, it is difficult to ascertain how these themes would develop, but one can only assume after reading *TLS* that they would refute many of Favre's claims.

16 Guillermo Rochabrún's paper, 'La producción sociológica en el Perú' (unpublished paper presented at Primer Congreso Peruano de Sociología, Ciudad de Huacho, 5 to 8 May, 1982) provides a useful overview of this process.

17 According to Pinilla (1994, 107), this, and Quijano's study of the *cholo* (1980), were regarded as the first serious analyses to be undertaken by the emergent social sciences at the time.

morally questionable for Favre, but anachronistic and fundamentally at odds with modernization: 'Favre venía a terminar con ciertos mitos sobre el indio y la cultura india, descubriéndolos como obstáculos que impedían lograr el desarollo y la modernización del país' (1994, 177).[18]

To this, could be added that Favre's tracing of an emergent *mestizo* sector and the gradual proletarianization of the indigenous population through contact with Lima, assumes an all too linear notion of historical development.[19] Due to this ultimately Eurocentric idea of modernity, the Indian population was for him not only an obstacle to the capitalization of Peruvian society, but was actually already and inevitably being absorbed by it, illustrated by his use of terminology such as *mestizo*, *pequeños proprietarios* and *peón*. By portraying an image of abject poverty and abuse on *haciendas* (Favre 1976, 120-131), and the lack of productivity in *minifundios* and *ayllus* when the former disintegrated due to internal and external pressure (Favre 1976, 120), Favre seemed to be placing his faith in an Agrarian Reform which would ultimately absorb and 'technologize' the indigenous population completely.[20] As the study progresses, one sees two poles emerging, that of the indigenous community associated with *siervo* and that of the *mestizo* sector equated with *peonaje*, with an inexorable line of transition drawn between them. An implicit belief in the need for the wholesale transformation of society, suffering from structural problems such as the domination of the coast over the *sierra* and dependent capitalism, emerges when Favre suggests that the situation of both *indio* and *mestizo* is in jeopardy: 'El paso de la servidumbre al peonaje...no ha aportado ninguna mejora al status del siervo...incluso ha agravado la del siervo convertido en peón' (1976, 133).

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[18] Pinilla reveals how Favre, armed with the latest theories and methodologies from Europe, gave the impression that he had come to show Peruvian sociologists how best to study their society, with the added implication that only an outsider (himself) was best equipped to do so. Later that year Favre also attacked Bravo Bresani for his study of the oligarchy in Peru: 'Bravo está constantemente ante el peligro de percibirlo de demasiado cerca' (Pinilla 1994, 177).

[19] Following in the line of Portocarrero (1993), Manrique has pointed to the racism and violence underscoring much of the process of *mestizaje* in Peru since the early colonial era. In many ways, *mestizaje* merely becomes a synonym for enforced acculturation, or rape, of defenceless indigenous women (1995a, 183-185; 376-379).

[20] This coincides remarkably closely with the political ideology of Acción Popular which came to power in 1964 with Belaúnde (Rowe 1979, 177-188).

Despite his professed aim to undertake a 'diachronic' and 'holistic' study of Peruvian socio-economic structures,[21] therefore, Favre fails to shake off a rigid conceptual framework which rests on linear and ultimately evolutionary notions of economic and political development. Roland Forgues (1979), who carries out a similar analysis of socio-economic structures this time in relation to a novel, *TLS*, also ends up adhering to serial concepts of temporality by assuming that the novel evokes a Marxist trajectory from feudal to capitalist, and ultimately Socialist, relations of production and exchange. Unlike Montoya (1980a), who also works within a Marxist framework when analysing Puquio, but uses terms such as 'mixed economy' to reveal the simultaneity of socio-economic, political and cultural configurations, Forgues' is a rather too causal and deterministic view of what Arguedas is representing in *TLS*, since he assumes the latter depicts the ultimate collapse of the *hacienda* in favour of the *ayllu*. Apart from attributing this to what he considers to be Arguedas' Marxist orientation,[22] Forgues also talks about the novel's aim to evoke cultural *mestizaje*. What begins as an interesting analysis, however limited by political ideology, of the economic foundations of socio-cultural change, thus ends up succumbing to the literary rhetoric of *mestizaje* with no attempt made to elucidate the precise economic and socio-cultural bases of this.

I should like to point out that Arguedas has a very precise notion of the types of changes taking place in the southern Andes and of the consequences of these transformations. Whilst he chooses to focus on some changes rather than others and attributes paradigmatic resonance to them, the latter can be historicized precisely. This concern for accuracy and precision is nowhere more evident than in Arguedas' study of Sayago where he meticulously traces lines of continuity between land and labour configurations (economic structures) and operative systems of stratification (socio-cultural formations). That this knowledge and methodology were used in his subsequent novel is in no doubt, particularly if one undertakes a simultaneous reading of the two. Thus, whilst Arguedas may ultimately be espousing a notion of cultural *mestizaje*, it is

[21] These words are Favre's own and are taken up by Pinilla when describing the former's aim to take an interdisciplinary approach in the study of social change: 'Favre proponía el estudio de los cambios bajo una óptica "diacrónica, sociológica y holística"' (1994, 171).

[22] Forgues suggests that Arguedas, as a novelist, reflects what Mariátegui espoused as a politician, namely the idealization of indigenous communal structures as a model for what was ultimately to be the Socialist transformation of society (1979, 26).

not enough to end here, for one must carry the line of enquiry further and highlight Arguedas' particular conception of this. If one reads closely enough and has the anthropological work at hand, one soon finds plenty of clues as to what this might be.

a. The Historicist Discourse

In the introduction to his anthropological thesis, Arguedas explains that being in a state of flux and transformation, Sayago made an appealing case study. Paralleling the Mantaro valley, and to a certain extent Puquio, Sayago's system of stratification, based on a communal system of land tenure, was being radically altered by a liberal economic ethos in favour of privatization and individualism (Arguedas 1986a, 10). The fact that this coincided with developments in the southern *sierra* enabled Arguedas to take a comparative approach and later to use the knowledge from this in his forthcoming novel. In the latter, *TLS*, Arguedas traces some of the effects capitalist methods of production and exchange have on local *ayllus* in Andahuaylas, the fact, for example, that they simultaneously cause stratification and consolidate communal organization. Four indigenous groups are represented: San Pedro de Lahuaymarca, an autonomous *ayllu* with its own economic base (communal lands) and political organization (a *cabildo*), the first to demand payment for each day's work and refuse to sell its lands to don Fermín; the *colonos* of don Bruno's La Providencia, forced to work on the *hacienda* and later the mine, in return for land; the *colonos* on the *hacienda* of the abusive don Lucas; and the free but impoverished *comuneros* of Paraybamba, struggling to assert their independence from the *hacendado* Cisneros.

These groups testify to the heterogeneity of the indigenous community in the area due to the mixed economic landscape (capitalist and non-capitalist work relations) and the ambivalent effects of capitalism on the *ayllu*. In response to the expansion of don Fermín's mine and the presence of a new economic force in the area, the Wisther Bozart Company, a new a form of landownership and means of working the land, called *arrendatario*, emerges, where the *comuneros* concede part of their harvest in payment for their land instead of labour. This can be seen as a move away from *hacienda-colono* style relationships, or *gamonalismo*, and a step towards a new form of land rent. This, together

with the trade agreement between don Bruno's *colonos* and the *comuneros* of Paraybamba, becomes a catalyst for change and marks a turning point in the novel, since the commercial link between the two groups brings them economic prosperity and consolidates their communal system of organization. Whilst the number of *minifundistas*, particularly in Lahuaymarca and Paraybamba, grows and *mestizo* workers or Creole professionals infiltrate the area attracted by the mine, the traditional group of *hacendados*, don Bruno, don Lucas and Cisneros, and the *vecino* community, find their land bases and statuses threatened. A close study of the precise socio-economic conditions (land and labour relations) of the power groups in the novel reveals their position in the local system of stratification and the attempts made to negotiate new spaces within it.

Rodrigo Montoya (1980b) has suggested that San Pedro and the unnamed capital of the province in *TLS* are based on San Juan de Lucanas and Puquio respectively, for San Juan de Lucanas had once been an important mining centre but once its mines had become exhausted, the capital was moved to Puquio.[23] To a certain extent, this is corroborated by Arguedas himself (Arguedas 1989a, 15), when he mentions the case of a *comunero* schoolboy in San Juan de Lucanas who is whipped after being provoked by his class-mates, paralleling the case of Rendón Willka in San Pedro, in *TLS*, as will be seen in the next chapter. I would argue, however, that in keeping with what Escobar (Arguedas 1986a, 119) has described as Arguedas' desire to express a 'realidad total', or what Cornejo Polar (1973, 254) has called his aim to write a 'novela total', Arguedas combined aspects of areas he had close contact with (San Juan de Lucanas, Puquio and the Mantaro valley) with Andahuaylas, through a process of imaginative conflation.

In *TLS*, the description of the unnamed capital of the province comes very close to the description of Puquio in Arguedas' thesis and earlier study. Whilst Arguedas only mentions four *ayllus* in his study of Puquio, there would in fact have been six at the time of his writing *TLS* (Montoya 1979, 38-39), and this is accurately represented in the novel (p. 306). The fact that both the unnamed capital of the province in *TLS* (p. 68) and Puquio in *YF* (p. 7) are described as a 'Indian' towns, also suggests an elision between the two. It is quite possible that Puquio was also used as a source for San Pedro, since some of the

23 This is also mentioned in Arguedas' thesis (Arguedas 1968a, 201).

details of Arguedas' study are echoed in *TLS*. For example, San Pedro mirrors the dispersal of the traditional *hacendado* class in Puquio, described by Montoya (1980a), whilst details of the study of individual *ayllus* in Puquio may be seen to be reflected in the *ayllus* surrounding San Pedro. Despite regional differences between areas of the southern Andes and between districts of the same area, therefore, certain continuities existed which allowed Arguedas to create a microcosm in a region not yet studied ethnographically but known at an empirical level during childhood. The choice of Andahuaylas rather than Puquio or the Mantaro valley thus may have been a deliberate one since it allowed Arguedas the freedom from accuracy and verisimilitude demanded by an anthropological epistemology, whilst its geographical position in the middle of the two areas made it a valuable frontier or border region in which to negotiate the diverse socio-cultural and economic realities converging upon it. Exploring local communities and their stratification reveals much about this multiplicity.

As mentioned, details from Arguedas' analysis of the relationship between systems of stratification and land tenure in Sayago can be seen to be mirrored in *TLS*. Arguedas found that the demand for wheat after the First World War changed the local economy of Sayago by altering the land tenure system which until then had been based on communal landholdings (Arguedas 1968a, 12). With the rise in the price of wheat and beef in 1918, half the available land was parcelized and sold off to individual buyers (Arguedas 1968a, 12). Arguedas witnessed that local society comprised two main groups defined by landownership and production methods. *Señoritos* were posited against *vecinos* (or *labradores*) in that whilst they owned land they did not work it: 'El "señoritismo" en Bermillo está fundado precisamente en la ninguna relación con el trabajo de campo; el que va al campo no es "señorito" sino "vecino," es decir, labrador' (Arguedas 1968a, 38). Since this was the case, in order to secure labour, the *señoritos* rented land out to *vecinos* for an annual amount (*arrendatario*) or in exchange for products (*a "medianía"*) (Arguedas 1968a, 37). The existence of communal land tenure and the renting out of this, and private plots, by *señoritos* kept the poorer *vecinos* quiescent. Arguedas found, therefore, that despite economic changes, beef, wheat and the privatization of land, communal land tenure and production methods continued. Thus whilst the existence of private lands and the *señorito* class fostered the 'odio de

castas' (Arguedas 1968a, 138), particularly in Bermillo where there were more *señoritos*, the availability of land maintained the status quo and avoided outright class conflict.[24]

Whilst the *vecino* community in *TLS* falls into decline due to the monopoly over mining in the area by the Aragón family and subsequently the Wisther Bozart Company, don Andrés' ability to combine mining with agriculture enables him not only to maintain his wealth but to increase it by buying up the lands and silver from local *vecinos* desperate for credit. In paternalistic fashion, he and his family protect the independence of the Indian *ayllus* against the *vecinos* by giving them land. This maintains the social order of the *grandes señores* over the *vecinos* and subdues the *comuneros* by avoiding *rabia* (p. 69), or disorder.[25] In feudal fashion, the social order relies on the position of the large *hacienda* at the apex of the power structure, granting the *hacendado* absolute power over those beneath them, that is, socio-economic, political and even 'spiritual' control, since he is ultimately responsible for the moral well-being of his *colonos*.[26] In *TLS*, this order comes under threat by the increase in economic activity in the area. This undermines what don Lucas calls the 'costumbre' (p. 187) of the Indian population only being permitted to buy from and sell to its *hacendado*, forcing some *hacendados*, such as himself, to abandon the area, burning his *hacienda* rather than giving it to the Indians, like don Bruno, or selling it, like Aquiles and other *vecinos*.

The majority of *vecinos* in San Pedro, unlike their *señorito* counterparts in Bermillo whose position was secure, find themselves forced to sell their lands in La Esmeralda as revenue from mining dries up. Obliged now to rent this land, as 'partidarios' (p. 46), from other *hacendados*, such as the Aragones, and to adapt to the changing economic climate, they turn to cattle raising and alfalfa as demand for beef grows from the coast. Whilst this requires irrigated land and the latter is in short supply, the *vecinos* become factionalized over water rights. Many begin to sell up and leave for urban centres such as the capital of the province[27] and Lima. Those remaining find themselves in a dilemma. Due to their poverty, they cannot contract labour, nor have the land to rent out

[24] Although this did actually take place in La Muga (Arguedas 1968a, 38-39), it was short-lived and resolved quickly by wholesale *quiñonización* (Arguedas 1968a, 255) or privatization of the *dehesas* (Arguedas 1968a, 257-258), large-scale individual and collective landholdings.

[25] This concept of *rabia* denoting social unrest is explored in more detail in the next chapter.

[26] See Sven Lindqvist, *Land and Power in South America* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 229-298.

[27] The unnamed capital of the province, like Puquio, becomes an important commercial and political centre, particularly when the Indian *ayllus* win official recognition (p. 68).

in order to do so, but due to the work taboo (p. 55), they must resort to other production methods. Inevitably, they are forced to work the land themselves. Arguedas' description reveals the comical consequences of the clash between traditional mind-sets and pressing economic demands: 'Los vecinos muy pobres empezaron por rendirse y se vieron obligados a cultivar ellos mismos sus pequeños campos de maíz y trigo. Intentaron hacer el trabajo a ocultas, primero; durante las noches...Mientras sus mujeres vigilaban los caminos y las parcelas colindantes' (p. 326). The link between social status and work is graphically illustrated by the case of El Gálico and his father-in-law. When the former sees the latter working land, he is not only outraged, but disowns his wife: 'Usted me ha deshonrado. Ha estado usted tirando lampa como indio en su huerta de papas. Esta señora ya no puede ser mi esposa. Se la devuelvo' (p. 330). These situations come very close to farce, revealing Arguedas' sensitivity towards the paradoxes resulting from a mixed socio-economic landscape.

The clash between pride and the refusal to work the land and economic necessity, therefore, divides the vecinos (p. 334). Unlike the Indians who reveal a capacity for solidarity in the face of new economic conditions, however threatening, their social strength and ability to confront the *Consorcio* is undermined. Only when they decide to rent half of the land of La Esmeralda to the *comuneros* of Lahuaymarca and enter into a trading agreement with them, as seen later on, are they able to avoid dispossession by Cisneros, don Fermín or the *Consorcio*. Their *haciendas* and lands given over to the *comuneros*, voluntarily in this case, revealing much about *serrano* forces coming together in the face of aggression from the coast, many *vecinos* ultimately decide to succumb to the allure of the cities and, like countless others, join the migratory flow to the coast.

Arguedas' found that in the valley of Mantaro, the city of Huancayo provided an alternative source of employment to that of working the land, unlike in the smaller towns and communities of the southern Andes. By the time he undertook his study in 1957, and basing his analysis on the 1940 censuses, he saw that Huancayo had the highest urban population in the Andean region.[28] The city soon became a symbol of the

28 'Evolución de las comunidades indígenas. El valle del Mantaro y la ciudad de Huancayo, un caso de fusión de culturas no comprometida por la acción de las instituciones de origen colonial', repr. in *Formación*

benefits of a capitalist economy, incarnating: 'el impulso de la actividad, del negocio, del espíritu moderno',[29] with centres of work absorbing the population in a non-hierarchical way. For Arguedas, Huancayo epitomized a Republican city lacking an entrenched colonial past, providing an alternative to the economic stagnation of colonial cities such as Huamanga and acting as a magnet to those from the underdeveloped south, thus destabilizing the latter's rigid social structure: 'Huancayo recibe la carga de la producción de toda esa área subdesarrollada del sur y actúa como un foco perturbador de la vieja estructura colonial que aún tiene congelada su potencialidad.'[30] It is this wide geographic sphere of influence and its system of social organization based on alternative (post-colonial) economic priorities and production methods, that makes Arguedas attribute Huancayo with new spatial and temporal, or archetypal, dimensions, as mentioned in the previous chapter.

If the *vecinos* in *TLS* own (some) land but cannot work it and the Indians, as seen later, try to increase their landholdings by working them, the *mestizos* occupy an intermediary position in the prevailing system of land and labour relations. Whilst land ultimately determines one's place in an agrarian society, the very lack of land and the deriving of an income from other sources may also define one's rank and identity. The growing economic diversification and commercialization of the local economy, due to the expansion of the mine and roads in the area, provides an alternative vehicle for social mobility and another set of criteria for determining one's position in the system of stratification. Apart from being a *wakcha*, or orphan, due to the lack of land,[31] one can also be considered *mestizo*, *cholo*, or *vecino*, due to one's occupation as an artisan (Bellido), a company employee (Perico, or the workers and engineers in the mine) or a local official (the Sub-prefect or the Judge). Such is the taboo surrounding agricultural work that the *mestizos*, like the *vecinos*, do not engage in it. Agricultural work thus acquires socio-cultural or ethnic dimensions, so that the position of *peón* comes to be inextricably linked with *indio* (p. 326).

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de una cultura nacional indoamericana, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 80-147 (p. 127).

[29] Ibid., 139.

[30] Ibid.

[31] This is elaborated by Arguedas and Alejandro Ortiz Rescaniere in 'La posesión de la tierra. Los mitos posthispánicos y la visión del universo en la población monolingüe quechua', in *Les problèmes agraires des Amériques Latines (Colloque 1965)*, (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1967), pp. 309-315.

The case of Anto is an interesting one in this scheme of things, revealing perhaps more than any of the other characters the fluidity of categories of identity and their direct correlation with land or the lack of it. In Anto's case acquisition of land is synonymous with social mobility, personal fortification and defiance, but not in the sense that he begins to acquire *comunero* status, as is explored in the next section. The first description of him as 'huérfano Anto' (p. 19) and his addressing don Andrés as 'papay' (p. 20), reveals his status as a *pongo* enmeshed in the patriarchal relations of the *hacienda*. However, when he acquires a plot of land on La Esmeralda, after don Andrés' death, he becomes a *cholo* (p. 68). By the time he is in a position to build a house on this land, don Bruno refers to him as a *vecino*. Although this is flatly denied by Anto himself who defines himself as: 'yo indio siempre' (p. 222), the latter's 'Indian' status, equated with that of the *comunero* or *colono*, is contradicted by other factors such as his recent acquisition of land and knowledge of Spanish. The fact that he has worked all his life for don Andrés and not on the land also denies his *indio* identity. By the time the bulldozers are about to encroach on La Esmeralda, Anto has married a similarly ethnically ambiguous 'mestiza aindiada' and takes part in the *cabildo*, suggesting he has now attained *vecino* status: 'Anto tenía su casa, sus bueyes...había ascendido a la categoría de vecino próspero' (p. 360). This continues to be called into question, however, as others present in the *cabildo* fail or refuse to recognize this, doña Adelaida calling him *cholo* and *indio* (pp. 360; 361), whilst he now refers to himself as *mestizo* (p. 374). Paradoxically, therefore, Anto, now a *vecino*, owns a plot of land but also works it himself. His position thus presents a conundrum, revealing the 'grey area' of social relations and identities in Andean communities in a mixed economy.

If the non-acquisition of land and the non-engagement in agricultural work also determines one's position in society, this points to the emergence of a new system of social stratification with a new set of organizing principles. Whilst commerce provides an alternative to working the land for some, contributing to the socially mobile identity of *mestizo* or *cholo*, unchecked capitalist relations threaten to destabilize the social order. Those representing international capitalist agents, such as Wisther Bozart, are directly equated with the lack of *alma* and *sangre*, metaphors which run through the novel denoting notions of integrity, legitimacy and even patriotism. This is because those to

whom these values are attributed, namely Cabrejos, Palalo and the Zar, represent a new order of industrialists which has displaced the old agriculturalist order in the power scale but, according to Rendón Willka (and Arguedas), have failed to provide a convincing new set of values. For Rendón, whose agenda is to forge a new social order based on the acquisition and the working of land, be it individual or communal, by the indigenous community, the principles espoused by Cabrejos, based on rampant capitalism (neo-liberalism or free market economics), marginalize those Cabrejos' system most wishes to absorb, that is, the unproletarianized Indians. The fact that this system remains paradoxically dependent on a colonial order based on the *hacienda*, however, means that unlike the commercial activities of Huancayo, it fails to provide alternative socio-economic perspectives for the peasantry.

Exploitative attitudes towards the land and work translate as a lack of patriotism and national identity for Rendón and Arguedas, so that the Zar et al. come to represent the rootlessness of a new international order: 'han dejado de ser hombres, son también entes internacionales, sin patria, sin nido' (p. 337),[32] 'fantasmas' (p. 342),[33] whilst Cabrejos is described as 'autómata' (p. 163). Ironically, this comes very close to some of the descriptions of the *colonos* in the novel, don Fermín describes don Lucas' *colonos* as: 'esos indios apenas tienen figura de seres humanos' (p. 342), suggesting that Cabrejos and his associates like the *colonos* have become *wakchas* or 'orphans', the latter now non-racial and non-class specific. Arguedas, therefore, extends the notion of land with its associated ontological dimensions to the nation, so that those without the former are also without the latter ('patria') and are ultimately alienated.

Despite the presence of artisans and *mestizos* in Sayago and the southern Andes respectively, these form as yet a minority group and local identity is still very much rooted in the ethos of landownership. As has been mentioned, Arguedas' study of Sayago reveals just how closely class is related to the ownership of land and to occupation for the majority of the population by highlighting the role these factors plays

32 The concept of 'sin nido' is a recurrent one in Andean poetry and *huaynos* which convey a sense of *soledad cósmica* and it links up with the notion of *wakcha*, evoking (ontological) orphanhood (Rowe 1979, 163-177).
33 Here the image of 'fantasmas' corresponds to many stories in Andean folklore where those who have committed a sin are transformed into *condenados* or *almas en pena* doomed to wander the earth until they have expiated their sins. See Arguedas' studies, *Folklore del valle del Mantaro* (Arguedas 1953a) and *Cuentos religioso-mágicos quechuas de Lucanamarca* (Arguedas 1960-61). This theme is examined more closely in Chapter Four.

in defining *vecino* identity: 'No se concibe en Sayago ningún vecino sin tierras. Vecindad y propiedad territorial son conceptos idénticos' (Arguedas 1968a, 34). Each married *vecino* has a right to *la vecindad,* the communal land. Although the prevailing belief is one of social equality amongst all *vecinos*, due to the continued existence of communal lands, the *vecino* class is stratified. This stratification is determined by the amount of cattle owned and the amount of private (and communal) land turned over to the cultivation of wheat (Arguedas 1968a, 206). In La Muga, most of the communal lands are *quiñonizadas*, parcelled up and sold to individual *vecinos* (Arguedas 1968a, 33). Arguedas argues that this strengthens the local work ethic, work being seen to confer social prestige and moral well-being (Arguedas 1968a, 277). Thus, whilst in Bermillo the ownership of land confers status, in la Muga this is coupled with the actual working of it.

The social and moral value attributed to landownership and working the land in Sayago and the roles of land and labour in defining (and consolidating) *vecino* identity, find a parallel in the *ayllus* of the southern Andes. Arguedas' study of the four Indian communities in Puquio reveals the socio-economic conditions underpinning the cultural interaction between ethnic groups in the area. Relations between *mestizos* and *indios* in the Qollana *ayllu* of Puquio, for example, are fractious due to the higher percentage of *mestizos* and *mistis* and their monopoly over landholdings.[34] This contrasts with Chaupi, however, where the lack of a large landowning class has contributed to the economic independence of the *comuneros* and the growth of a commercial *mestizo* class.[35] Qayao and Pichqachuri, meanwhile, have a much smaller proportion of *mestizos* due to their position on the *moyas* above the valley floor.[36] Despite the antipathy between *mistis* and *indios* in Qollana, Arguedas finds much to be heartened by in Puquio, the economic strengthening of the *indios*, their position as 'pequeños proprietarios',[37] enhancing relations with local *mestizos*, since ultimately *mestizo* and Indian economic activities complement each other: 'Los mestizos viven del comercio, y el aumento del valor de los productos agrícolas y de la ganadería ha incrementado el poder adquisitivo de los

34 Evidently, parallels with Bermillo may be drawn here.
35 In many ways, this reflects the situation in La Muga.
36 The *ayllus* of Lahuaymarca and Paraybamba in *TLS* parallel this dynamic, and that of La Muga in Sayago.
37 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 34-79 (p. 37).

indios.'[38] This was bolstered by the official recognition of the communities between 1942 and 1946.

In *TLS*, the *colonos* of La Providencia live on the *moyas*, the highland *puna* region (p. 37), having been pushed up the mountain slopes by the *señores* who monopolized the more temperate valleys.[39] These are subject to the *hacienda* which defines local relations of power vis-à-vis the colonial master-servant dichotomy (p. 38). In direct contrast to the more autonomous *comuneros* of Lahuaymarca, the position of the *colonos* of La Providencia is defined by virtue of their complete material and, by extension, spiritual dependence on the *hacendado*: 'Yo...colono...No tengo mi casa, no tengo mi tierra, no tengo mi perrito. Todo, todo, de don Bruno' (p. 227), implicitly equating them with *wakchas* or orphans. This instils a sense of resignation and an acceptance of the Catholic doctrine of fatality, as evidenced during Gregorio's funeral when the image of Christ's suffering is used to obscure the real issue of Gregorio's identity and the reason for his death (p. 143).[40] Nevertheless, when don Bruno allows his *colonos* to trade with the *comuneros* of Paraybamba and later gives them land (the *moyas*), they are able to strengthen their structures of communal organization and hold *cabildos*. Thus whilst remaining a captive community (K'uychi), their collective organization forms a basis for their resurgence as an autonomous *ayllu*, as is explored in the next chapter section.

When the *colonos* of La Providencia ask permission to trade with the *comuneros* of Paraybamba, the socio-economic difference between the two groups is established. Paradoxically, Paraybamba although 'free', is poorer (materially and spiritually) than the *colonos* due to the lack of available land and protection from encroaching landowners which the *hacienda* provides. Due to the expropriation of land by local *vecinos*, population growth and migration, economic prosperity and political organization (*cabildos*) are undermined. The trading agreement the Paraybambas establish with don Bruno's *colonos* however, the latter subletting their land in exchange for produce, frees them from crippling poverty and having to work for other *hacendados*. When don Bruno

38 Ibid., 37. This was later witnessed in the valley of Mantaro.
39 This process is described in detail by Arguedas in the opening chapter of *YF*, the latter serving as an introduction to the land problem evoked in *TLS*.
40 This is in marked contrast to the *comuneros* of Lahuaymarca who are able to combat superstition or religious fatality due to economic prosperity: 'los Lahuaymarca que más sufrieron en las minas ya no le temían a la montaña. Se habían convertido en una comunidad próspera...la comunidad...contemplaba la montaña legendaria no sólo con indiferencia sino con cierto menosprecio o con expresión de desafío' (p. 97).

gives them the land of Tokoswayk'o, in exchange for produce (p. 257),[41] and money for *fiestas*, whilst establishing *compadrazgo* ties with them by becoming their *padrino*, the Paraybambas are able to elect their own *varayoq* for the first time in twenty years and exercise justice on the eighteen *vecinos* protected by Cisneros. The reinstatement of the 'común' (p. 264), made possible by the organization of a *cabildo*, enables the *comuneros* to confront Cisneros when he comes to annex the community. The new found sense of autonomous identity, revealed in collective terms such as 'soy alcalde del común' and 'todo el común ha elegido' (p. 269), is directly linked to the recovery of a communal land base and the reinstatement of *ayni* work methods.

Whereas the former two groups are in a stage of transition, San Pedro de Lahuaymarca is already a fully-functioning *ayllu* with its own system of *varayoq* holding regular *cabildos*. Arguedas explains that the fundamental difference between the latter and the former is land, since the *vecinos* had enough land on La Esmeralda and revenue from mining to allow the Lahuaymarcas to occupy the less hospitable *moyas* surrounding San Pedro. Occupying a wide topographical area, this land enables the *comuneros* to cultivate a diverse range of products to fulfil subsistence needs. Their lands protected by don Andrés and the *ley de protección* after the official recognition of the *ayllus*, the *comuneros* are fortified, extending their land to the valley slopes above the river whilst working as salaried peons: 'bajaban a servir por turnos a los muchos señores, pero no como siervos sino como peones a quienes se les debía pagar, y se les pagaba, un jornal más bien simbólico que efectivo' (p. 61). Economically strengthened, they become more politicized so that even by the time the novel begins they begin to demand a higher salary from local *vecinos* and miss work shifts when the latter fail to comply (p. 69). Having established the fundamental economic differences between *comuneros* and *colonos* at the start of the novel and revealed methods of overcoming these through increased commerce and work, Arguedas paves the way for the archetypalizing discourse which is heightened as the plot proceeds. The transformation of the *comuneros* into a force capable of resisting socio-economic and cultural annexation is the subject of the next section.

41 This is clearly a form of *arrendatario* which Forgues (1979) sees as an incipient form of capitalism in the area.

b. The Archetypalizing Discourse

Favre's (1976) account of the demise of the *hacienda* system reveals his pessimism towards viable economic alternatives due to structural problems associated with dependent capitalism. What it also reveals, is his belief that the *ayllu*, a hangover from colonial days and synonymous with the *hacienda* system, is necessarily and inevitably being replaced, *comunero* Indians becoming peasants and peons. According to him, the *ayllu*, like the *hacienda*, provides no economic prospects for the *sierra*, or the nation, since its survival rests on archaic values and methods of production which are incompatible with the demands of a market economy. As has already been suggested and will be seen in more detail in this chapter, Arguedas overturns this notion, highlighting not only the viability but greater suitability of indigenous structures of organization in certain contexts. What is more, his image of the *ayllu* differs substantially from Favre's and is based on ethnographic experience.

Together with this image of the *ayllu*, a latter-day socio-economic and cultural unit, responding to external changes and the demands of modernity, Arguedas puts forward a project of *mestizaje*, as Forgues (1979) rightly points out. Unlike the suggestions of the latter, however, Arguedas' idea or ideal of *mestizaje* is based on precise socio-economic conditions, such as land and labour methods, and thus can be accurately historicized. At the same time, however, particularly as the pace of the plot is heightened, these land and labour configurations attain symbolic power, but not to the extent that their historicity is diminished. In other words, they are accommodated to Arguedas' double-time technique. Thus, if *mestizaje* emerges as a project of cultural identity and resistance, with land and work as its cornerstones, a sense of continuity with the past, or of 'la longue durée' (Braudel 1980, 25), is also established. This correlates with a notion of symbolic production which lies inside temporal and spatial, or chronotopic, frameworks, cultural metaphors, such as *mestizaje*, taking shape through everyday practices. By adopting this outlook, Arguedas is able to refute the linear sequentiality of social scientists and critics such as Favre and Forgues. Ultimately, *mestizaje* is not seen as a break with the past, or a linear progression of it, but as a confluence of multiple temporalities.

If Favre's (1976) view of *mestizaje* is equated with the emergence of *campesinos* and peons[42] and thus suggests a break with indigenous structures of organization, Arguedas, therefore, runs counter to this by presenting a project of *mestizaje* based on a restructured *ayllu* capable of responding to capitalist agents in the area and accommodating itself to the demise of the *hacienda*. As has been mentioned, the symbolic discourse enters at this point, turning the *ayllu* into a unit capable of withstanding and reacting to the vagaries of time. This appears to fulfil the call made by Bravo Bresani (1966) at the onset of the *Mesa redondas*, namely that Peruvian society should also be viewed through the optic of a symbolic or mythical discourse which represents as well as reconstructs national realities.[43] Through a process of conflation in which he combines elements from different spatial and temporal zones, Sayago, Puquio, the Mantaro valley and Andahuaylas, where the long-view jostles with the contemporary, Arguedas reveals how an alternative vision of Peruvian reality may be constructed through the force of certain symbols such as the *ayllu* and the *varayoq*. By placing the latter at the confluence of spatial and temporal zones, he gives them a continuity vital for fostering a sense of cultural identity and resistance. Needless to say, the roles of the imagination and intuition are vital for this and here at least are bolstered by Bravo Bresani's words.

In the conclusion to his anthropological thesis, where he alludes more extensively to the communities of the Peruvian *sierra*, Arguedas refers to the way parcelization ('producción parcelaria') had a paradoxical effect on the latter, simultaneously stratifying and strengthening them, once again drawing a parallel between the southern *sierra*, Puquio and the Mantaro valley, and La Muga: 'Este hecho, el reparto, ha permitido la diferenciación de los indios, exactamente, como en La Muga, en niveles altos y bajos...Además, la posesión individual de tierras de arar ha hecho posible el desarollo de las comunidades que pudieron conservar una proporción relativamente alta de tierras, como las del valle del Mantaro y Puquio' (Arguedas 1968a, 332). Although Arguedas finds many similarities between the socio-economic systems of

42 This coincides in part with Quijano's (1980) thesis, seen in more detail in the following chapter.

43 According to Bravo Bresani, the study of literature may reveal much for social scientists, such as: 'la forma como el artista ha captado y reproducido en su mundo ideal la lógica de organización del conjunto social real a que pertenece, o cómo su intuición revela la escencia de los comportamientos humanos y sus motivaciones' (1966, 182).

Bermillo and La Muga and what he calls 'Perú andino semicolonial' (Arguedas 1968a, 346), he finds that the communal organization of the latter is greater. This, paradoxically, is due to the fact that certain Andean areas, such as the valley of Mantaro and Puquio, have achieved a higher level of economic development than those of Sayago (Arguedas 1968a, 346).

Arguedas' socio-economic and cultural analysis of Puquio, undertaken between 1952 and 1956, is paralleled by a study of Huancayo and the Mantaro region (Arguedas travelled to the area four times between 1951 and 1955), completed in 1957 and submitted as a dissertation for his anthropological degree before he was to travel to Spain. One can trace the evolution of Arguedas' views in both these studies, for whereas in Puquio the changes perceived in the local economy and culture were greeted with a qualified optimism bordering on scepticism, in Huancayo they were welcomed with wholesale enthusiasm. This may have been due to the particularities of the Mantaro valley and the types of transformations underway, but there can be no doubt that Arguedas' personal attitude towards change, or modernity, had also evolved.[44] Revealing an unprecedented capacity for ethnic integration or co-existence, the Mantaro region became a paradigm of socio-cultural interaction and survival for Arguedas. The latter witnessed the two-way process of *mestizaje* on the one hand (*indios* becoming *mestizos* through contact with urban markets, for example) and the strengthening of Indian communal structures, *ayllus* and *cabildos*, and *comunero* or *runa* ethnic identity, on the other.[45] As in the *ayllus* of Qayao and Pichqachuri in Puquio, the interaction of *mestizos* and Indians strengthened both parties in socio-economic terms and contributed to their cultural integration. What Arguedas perceived in Puquio, therefore, was a form of socio-economic and cultural co-existence which when compared to the Mantaro valley was at an incipient stage.

The valley of Mantaro represented the exception to the general rule of cultural polarization governing social relations in the southern *sierra*, and a model which other

44 According to Manrique (1995a) and as seen in the previous chapter, this was due to the fact that Arguedas was at this time interested in North American culturalist theory, particularly that of Franz Boas, but one cannot deny the importance of the particularities of the region and its socio-historical background which this section will elucidate.

45 'Evolución de las comunidades indígenas. El valle del Mantaro y la ciudad de Huancayo, un caso de fusión de culturas no comprometida por la acción de las instituciones de origen colonial', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 80-147 (p. 94).

areas could aspire to. The singularity of the Mantaro region was emphasised by Arguedas: 'Esta integración pacífica de las castas y culturas en el valle del Mantaro es, como ya dijimos, un hecho excepcional en la historia de las comunidades indígenas del Perú.'[46] Its uniqueness thus isolated it from the rest of Peru and enabled Arguedas to attribute metaphoric value to it. Its geocultural position between Lima (the coast) and the southern *sierra* also contributed to this, since it became for Arguedas a symbolic corridor between the two regions: 'una zona que podríamos llamar de frontera; entre la capital, que es el más poderoso centro de difusión de la cultura occidental contemporánea y la extensa área sur...área inmensa donde la tradición hispanocolonial y quechuacolonial ejercen todavía su imperio.'[47]

The cultural particularities of the Mantaro region were such that not only was the level of *mestizaje* (integration or coexistence) a lot higher than in other regions of the country but, according to Arguedas, was altogether more positive than in other areas, and he attributed this primarily to local economic conditions: 'la aparición del mestizo estuvo condicionada, además, y fundamentalmente, por causas de orden económico.'[48] These can be traced back to an alliance between the Spanish and the local Huancas against Atahuallpa in the early colonial era. The latter defeated, the Spanish lost interest in the region due to the lack of primary materials (mines and wood), leaving the local Indian population to consolidate their hold over the land. When *criollos* and immigrants from the coast later populated the area, their interest in commerce, rather than agricultural production, was crucial to subsequent relations between the two groups since it did not threaten the economic bases of the *ayllus*. As in Qayao in Puquio, the *misti*, or *mestizo*, and *comunero* economies directly complemented each other, strengthening the socio-cultural bases of each group and leading to a balance between rural and urban populations which avoided mass migration to the cities. The fact that this exceptionality dates back to the early years of the Conquest also confers a historical continuity with epic resonances for Arguedas: 'creemos que la singularidad del status

[46] Ibid., 87.
[47] Ibid., 138. In the previous section, I mentioned the fact that Andahuaylas could also be regarded as a frontier zone, this time between Arguedas' two case studies or models, the Mantaro valley and Puquio.
[48] Ibid., 154.

del indio y del mestizo en el valle del Mantaro, con respecto a los otros valles del Perú, fue definida en el período inicial de la conquista.'[49]

With road links to Lima, growing commerce and schools, *mestizos* (many former *comuneros* or *minifundistas*) began to enter the local administration and eventually substituted the *varayoq* system as they had done in Puquio.[50] The process of *mestizaje*, cultural coexistence and acquisition of *mestizo* status by former *comuneros*, was thus heightened by peaceable (voluntary) and controlled contact with urban areas.[51] What appeared to attract Arguedas most about the Mantaro case, therefore, was that *mestizaje* or integration was possible without being at the cost of the indigenous communities themselves, as in other parts of the *sierra*. This was because it was seen to depend on concrete socio-economic conditions which could be replicated in other areas through land reform, such as the dismantling of large-scale *hacienda* landholdings. *Mestizaje*, therefore, could be equated, alongside controlled contact with urban centres, with a precise land tenure system ('producción parcelaria'), as a soldier from Jauja reveals in *TLS*: 'Nosotros, los mestizos, éramos en Jauja y en todo el valle como advenedizos, dicen que hasta hace poco. Todo era de los indios. No hay allá hacendados grandes. Ahora en Jauja no hay indios. Somos todos cholos peruanos. Aquí el indio casi no es gente' (pp. 296-297). This ideal of *mestizaje* which is ethnically determined, that is non-race and non-class specific because it rests on an economic system offering equal opportunities to all, culminates in the image of the Huancayo city-dweller or *ex indio*, who by diversifying his economic practices, has maintained a sense of socio-economic and cultural autonomy.[52]

Arguedas' thesis reveals a similar process of peasant communities being influenced by local socio-economic conditions. The parcelization of communal lands in Sayago diluted class conflict by fostering an ethos of social equality, despite internal stratification. This is particularly so in La Muga, where the absence of many *señoritos* made society appear more homogeneous: 'todos los muguenses parecían socialmente

[49] Ibid., 88.
[50] Ibid., 28-29.
[51] This is in stark contrast to the situation in the southern *sierra*: 'En el sur, el mestizo es producto no de fusión sino de fuga, adolece, por lo mismo, de los trágicos caracteres psicológicos del individuo desajustado, en constante e insoluble búsqueda de patrones de conducta' (ibid., 122).
[52] This is mentioned in the previous chapter and in Arguedas' study of the Mantaro valley, op. cit., 139. As has been mentioned, Manrique (1995a) points out that all this was heavily influenced by North American Functionalist theory which Arguedas did not substantially question until the early 1960s.

iguales. Vestían el mismo traje; saco y pantalón de diablo fuerte negro o café oscuro, boina y los zapatos toscos' (Arguedas 1968a, 288). This appealed to Arguedas because it was reminiscent of the *ayllus* of the southern *sierra*. The atmosphere in the café, for example, revealed: 'la ausencia de jerarquías entre los concurrentes. Parecían uniformados, como en las comunidades de indios del Perú, por la semejanza de los trajes en forma, color y calidad' (Arguedas 1968a, 257), a description which echoes an image of Huancayo from Arguedas' study of the Mantaro valley.[53] In short, in La Muga, and later Bermillo, individualism (privatization) and collectivism (however much more of an ethos than a reality, since communal work ties were reduced to building a few public works) were combined in such a way that each enabled the other to sustain itself: 'La acumulación lenta de la riqueza en pocas manos no alcanza a superar sino con igual o mayor lentitud los tradicionales valores y normas comunitarias' (Arguedas 1968a, 306).

The coexistence of collective and private practices was reflected in the way agricultural work was undertaken in Sayago. Arguedas found that certain agricultural tasks, such as ploughing, were conducted on an individual family basis, whilst others, such as harvesting, were conducted communally. The wheat harvest was the most important activity in the agricultural calendar of Bermillo and one in which the whole community was involved, in *faena* or collective work mode: 'cuando un labrador de Bermillo habla de la siega y trilla no piensa en la que realiza cada uno en su tierra propia sino al trabajo ordenado y jubiloso de la faena en el "pan" o "La Hoja" comunal' (Arguedas 1968a, 48). The threshing stage of the harvest, whilst still undertaken communally, was carried out in competitive form: 'la siega se realiza en competencia. La competencia, de carácter deportivo, compromete no sólo a los miembros de una cuadrilla sino a todas las cuadrillas, entre sí' (Arguedas 1968a, 49). The ritual nature of this activity was accentuated by song: the *mayoral* or team-leader singing one stanza and the *cuadrilla* answering him. These elements, collective work, competition and song, are seen to be necessary due to the type of work being undertaken, suggesting, as will also be seen in *TLS*, that in certain cases these work methods are often more efficient than individual ones: 'La concurrencia comunal y el ambiente de fiesta surgen porque son

[53] Op. cit., 139

necesarios para sostener el ritmo del trabajo y el extraordinario número de horas continuas que el hombre debe trabajar' (Arguedas 1968a, 45). Apart from distinguishing *vecinos* from *señoritos*, as mentioned, collective work methods help to diffuse tensions between *vecinos* and avoid the acute class conflict experienced in La Muga (Arguedas 1968a, 188) since they are directly rooted in the existence and working of communal land.

In the study that follows attention will be focused on the consolidation of Indian *ayllus* in *TLS* through communal practices and ties within and across group boundaries. The image the reader has initially formed of the *colonos* of La Providencia is directly counterpoised by that of the *comuneros* of Lahuaymarca constructing a set of new terraces. This is undertaken collectively in *ayni* mode and accompanied by song, premarital sex and ritual fighting, the latter representing the concept of *tink'a*, a ritual offering to placate natural forces (the *apus*) and guarantee fertility: 'Los mozos lucharon al Rompe; en dos filas, con los brazos cerrados, se disputaron el terreno a golpes de hombros y caderas, un poco como los toros. Las mozas cantaban, dialogando con los luchadores' (p. 59). The display of strength amongst the men through *ayni* and ritual fighting consolidates the links between each other, whilst the song (a pre-Columbian *wanka*) evokes the dead and reincorporates them into the living community (p. 60). The work song, in conjunction with a ritual concept of work which follows the natural cycle, therefore, constitutes a symbolic victory over death. This is exemplified in the dialogue between the men and women, the latter emphasizing that only through shared work will their colleague become 'visible'. Through work and song which restore the ties with the natural order, the dead *comunero* is reintegrated into the life of the community.

In a sense this scene prefigures the death of Rendón Willka who, as seen in the next chapter, will be reconstituted in the community, like Juan Pariona. This concept, culminating in the messianic myth of *Inkarrí*, relies on the *comuneros'* ability to incorporate themselves in the natural cycle. This is achieved through collective work and communal landownership and establishes their difference with other indigenous communities, as Arguedas points out: 'Los comuneros de San Pedro no eran, pues, miserables como los de Paraybamba' (p. 60). When one compares this passage to one in the anthropological thesis, one witnesses Arguedas' clear enthusiasm for this type of

collective work. A description of the farmers in Bermillo singing as they return home from a day's work in the fields, reveals the poetic dimensions this has for Arguedas. The men are now personified and their relationship to the natural world heightened due to the work they have just carried out (p. 53).

By the end of the Lahuaymarca episode and its parallel in the thesis, some of the main themes of the novel have been revealed and the links between them made: the consolidation of the *ayllu* through the acquisition and working of land. This image of the *ayllu* is reiterated throughout the novel, making Lahuaymarca a model which other communities can and do aspire to. Its initial contrast to others, such as that of Paraybamba, is explained by Filiberto, alerting Matilde and the reader to the marked differences between *ayllus* in the area: 'Paraybamba sufre, colono de don Lucas sufre, muere. Lahuaymarca siembra, cosecha, quiere aprender castellano' (p. 171), the latter echoing what Arguedas saw to be taking place in Puquio. The song the *comuneros* sing for Matilde and the ritual fighting which accompanies it, parallel those which accompany the building of the terraces. The display of strength can be seen to contribute to the fortification of the *ayllu*, since the 'carne de puma' (p. 173) ideal to which the Indians aspire in the song is actually incarnated by them, the implication being that through ritual song and fighting, originating from one's relationship with and working of the land, strength is restored.

By the time the plot is underway and the Paraybambas have been given the *moyas* of Tokoswayk'o by don Bruno, the *comuneros'* work is elevated to epic proportions and the link or continuity with 'la longue durée' (Braudel 1980, 25) established through their prolongation of pre-Columbian work methods, as Hidalgo confirms: '¡Señor: el indio es el mismo de hace cinco siglos!...Tokoswayk'o es un milagro del trabajo comunal...Han resucitado andenes y construido muchos nuevos...han realizado un prodigio de ingeniería agrícola' (p. 415). This description of Paraybamba as an archetype of communal agricultural work may be interpreted in a variety of ways. Taken at face value it may be seen as direct reference by Arguedas to the many studies carried out in rural areas in the 1950s and 1960s by sociologists such as Favre, Chevalier or Bourricaud,

mentioned previously.[54] Due to the somewhat didactic tone of the passage, Hidalgo can be seen as a mouthpiece for progressive agronomy, in line with the Applied Anthropology stance of many social scientists at the time.[55] Also, the passage can be read as a satire of this technocratic approach. Arguedas' confrontation with the 'doctores' at the *Mesa redonda* on TLS seems to confirm this.[56] Nevertheless, whichever way it is read, and perhaps one should read it both ways, Arguedas' admiration for a collective work ethos, or work conducted in *ayni* mode, can be in no doubt. The fact that it has survived hundreds of years adds to its appeal and in a subtle way underscores and subverts the sociological-scientific discourse which tries to validate it in modern times. Arguedas' double-time technique is encapsulated in this passage, with the archetypal or diachronic evoked in terms little short of explicit. Hidalgo's role in the future of Paraybamba, meanwhile, parallels that of don Bruno in La Providencia, his bestowing of funds for tools and his establishing of *compadrazgo* links with the *ayllu* (p. 418), pointing to the importance of reciprocal kinship ties for socio-economic and cultural continuity. In the words of the mayor of Paraybamba at the end of the novel, an alliance of forces is necessary for the restoration of the *ayllu* and for its defence: 'Antes, el río y la voluntad del patrón nos separaban; ahora el río y la voluntad del patrón han unido nuestras vidas. El dios del señor y el dios de los indios nos protegen. ¿Pueden los soldados secar el río? ¿Pueden matar a los dioses?' (p. 451)

When Velazco receives a blow in the style of the *rompe* by Justo Pariona (p. 387), the theme of resistance, symbolically enacted in the fighting scenes, begins to take on significance in other contexts. The gradual fortification of the Indian community, particularly the *colonos*, is represented in a number of settings. During doña Rosario's funeral, death is once more defied and resistance fostered through ritual concepts of work represented in the *wanka*, the latter transforming the *colonos* of La Providencia who

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54 There was a flurry of studies of this sort when social science faculties began to open in the universities of Lima in the early 1960s.

55 This method was first employed in the Peru-Cornell Project undertaken in Vicos in 1952 (Marzal 1993, 467-469). Arguedas, in conjunction with Ortiz Rescaniere, was later to undertake a comparative study of the myths in this region with those he collected in Puquio: 'La posesión de la tierra. Los mitos posthispánicos y la visión del universo en la población monolingüe quechua', in *Les problèmes agraires des Amériques Latines (Colloque 1965)*, (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1967), pp. 309-315.

56 A satirical tone runs through the poem *Llamado a algunos doctores* of 1966 (El Comercio, 3 July 1966, p. 23; repr. in *Katatay*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1984), pp. 41-47), which can be seen as a personal epilogue to the *Mesa redonda* on TLS. The fact that Arguedas chose poetry (in Quechua) as a medium for this, reveals all too clearly his determination to counter the social scientists with an epistemology based on a different set of evaluative criteria.

begin to join in: 'sacudieron la cabeza; se despejaron de la desesperación inconsciente que los había atacado, que habían encendido los unos en los otros, y fueron repitiendo en número creciente la voz triunfal' (p. 227). This is then registered a number of times on an individual level: Filiberto becomes 'un cuerpo casi majestuoso, rígido y bullente, como el de una de esas piedras muy grandes y oscuras que resisten la creciente de los ríos' (p. 243); in a similar fashion, David K'oto 'no parecía el hijo de un siervo. Se había atrevido a lanzar órdenes con voz alegre y enérgica' (p. 255) and, inspired by the *hurawi* of the Paraybambas (pp. 259-260), gives himself up willingly to the guards (p. 303); Serapio, Cisneros' *pongo*, meanwhile, is transformed when he hears don Bruno's name: 'Sólo pronunciar tu nombre lo ha fortalecido, Bruno. Ha salido andando con pasos de hombre' (p. 245).

By the last scene of the novel, the image of the *ayllu* is once more represented as don Bruno's *colonos* enter the patio this time radicalized by their leader and the sound of the *pututos*: 'en formación correcta y no en tumulto como antes. Los guiaba K'oyowasi...El patio fue colmándose como en una concentración militar, mientras los pututos impregnaban el aire de un aliento como de batalla' (p. 448). In Lahuaymarca, the *comuneros* prepare for the arrival of the soldiers who come in search of Rendón by forming work parties and turning their identity as a *común* into a source of resistance. When Rendón is asked where his people are, therefore, he is able to reply: 'En su trabajo, señor. Aquí es hacienda de maíz, trigo, cebada, ganado. En eso están trabajando' (p. 452). This is echoed by the words of a *comunera*: '¿Rendón Willka? ¿Su gente? No tiene gente de él. Somos comuneros; estamos en toda la hacienda, en cualquier parte' (p. 454). *Ayllu* status, therefore, once again diverts or delays the authority of the state by representing alternative categories of identity to those resting on individualism and notions of resistance based on pre-Columbian precepts, such as the capacity of the collective group. Land and labour configurations thus not only give rise to material production, but to the production of a symbolic discourse which helps to foster resistance.

Arguedas' study of Puquio reveals that although the official recognition of the communities in the 1940s transferred authority from the *varayoq* (a *comunero*) to the *personero* (a *mestizo*), in practice the *varayoq* continued to preside over the *cabildos* which organized the *faenas*: 'Los cabildos dominicales se siguen celebrando y no sólo

supervigilan la administración de la comunidad sino que es en esas asambleas semanales donde se fijan los planes de trabajo y se revisan los actos de las autoridades comunales.'[57] In fact, the supervision of particular collective tasks by the *varayoq*, such as the annual cleaning of the irrigation canals, perhaps the most important communal work activity in Puquio, lent an important ceremonial dimension to the proceedings.[58] In *TLS*, the reinstatement of communal authority in the form of the *varayoq* and *cabildo* systems is fundamental to the restoration of justice for the community of Paraybamba, long since oppressed by Cisneros and his *vecino* allies. The meting out of justice, carried out in ritual form in order to avoid *rabia*, or disorder, is possible due to the re-establishment of communal lands and with them collective structures of organization. The indigenous authorities not only become arbitrators of justice but representatives of the restored community.

This is evident when the *varayoq* from Paraybamba travel to the capital of the province to attend the trial against them after Cisneros' ritual punishment. Escorted by the indigenous authorities of the town in an act of solidarity, they make an impressive cortege. Despite their poverty, therefore, the former are seen to be as 'solemne and 'altivos' (p. 306) as their town counterparts. The latter, evidently the ideal to which those from Paraybamba and neighbouring communities aspire, represent the six *ayllus* situated on the outer edges of the town. During the trial, the *varayoq* of Paraybamba are composed (p. 309) and defiant, refusing to kneel before the Sub-prefect and replying in Spanish to the latter and Cisneros' Quechua (p. 314). In the words of one *varayoq*: 'Herida no vale...Comuneros vamos a ser respeto. Vamos a saber leer. Comuneros somos tantos, tantos' (p. 317). When one of the mayors is beaten by the Sub-prefect, he remains impassive: 'El indio no se movió' (p. 314). This equanimity causes a change of attitude in Cisneros and the Sub-prefect who see themselves forced to recant. The image of the *varayoq* walking out of the Sub-prefect's office is paralleled by a description of the flowers in the plaza receiving the light of the sun, a passage reminiscent of the final scene of *RP* when the *comuneros* descend on Abancay in an orderly fashion, 'sin rabia'.

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57 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 34-79 (p. 32).
58 Arguedas also describes this episode in 'El varayok', eje de la vida civil del ayllu', in *Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua*, ed. by Angel Rama (Buenos Aires: Arca Editorial, 1976), pp. 114-119 (p. 118).

The two groups of mayors seen as one are now counterpoised against the flowers which throws them into relief: 'contrastaban sus semblantes, como una montaña tranquila y una pequeñísima corola feliz, con el jardín de la plaza' (p. 320). The surmounting of *rabia* by the Paraybambas vis-à-vis Cisneros marks a necessary step towards the restoration of the *ayllu*, as the *sacristán* later confirms: 'No es por el alma que pelea y tiene rabia uno del otro, como el del señor vecino. Ahora verás. Al año entrante Paraybamba ya no llorará. Hará fiesta con danzarines, con castillos, con baile' (p. 412). This echoes the words of one of the *varayoq* of Paraybamba after Cisneros' ritual punishment: 'El hambre había traído la rabia a Paraybamba. Ahora todos miramos una estrella alegre' (p. 277).

The *varayoq's* role in the restoration of justice is closely associated with the part they play in supervising the *faena*, as mentioned in the study of Puquio and evidenced in key passages in *TLS*. When the soldiers arrive in Paraybamba to take reprisals for the punishment of Cisneros, the *faena* becomes a means of mobilizing resistance against them. Significantly, the soldiers find most of the *comuneros* at work in the fields, prefiguring the scene at the end of the novel when the soldiers come for Rendón Willka. This description of the *comuneros* at work, reveals their ability to use the organizational dimension of the *faena* and convert it into a source of resistance, much as the fighting *mozos* do during the ploughing season. The soldiers must not only contend with the obvious unconcern of the *comuneros*, but with the memories stirred in them by the scene and the accompanying pre-Columbian *wanka*: 'se quedaron detenidos un buen rato. Esa faena y el canto les recordaba su infancia. Una estrella profunda empezó a latir dentro de la sangre de ambos' (p. 299). If this detains the soldiers for a time, it consolidates the strength of the *comuneros*, even when the former begin to shoot, suggesting notions of continued resistance: 'Las balas quemaron el aire sobre las cabezas de los comuneros. Pero ninguno interrumpió su trabajo' (p. 299). Significantly, it is only when the *varayoq* order them to stop that the *comuneros* do so (p. 301), revealing their regard only for their own authorities. The fact that the *varayoq* refuse to go with the soldiers until they have given the command to the workers, also reveals the subversive nature of this work for it displaces or 'delays' the authority of the state.[59]

[59] A similar scene may be found in *RP* where the entry of the troops in Abancay is met with a certain amount of derision at first, the soldiers referred to as 'soldaditos' in a *huayno* sung in the *chicherías* (p. 105) and later by the schoolchildren (p. 166) who watch a military procession.

The issue of working the land being inextricably linked to the notion of defending it, with the added implication that it is being reclaimed by the Indian community, is reiterated in the Lahuaymarcas' agreement with the *vecinos* of San Pedro, the former offering to work the land of La Esmeralda when the latter decide to leave: '¡Era de indios lahuaymarcas todo, todo, señora! Bajaremos a defender' (p. 362). This goes hand in hand with the subsequent occupation of San Pedro by the Indians when the *vecinos* abandon it and the rebuilding of the church in *faena* mode (p. 398), signalling the rebirth of the town. The *varayoq* reinstated in the *ayllus* and the *faena* transformed into a form of resistance, the ritual punishment of Cisneros by the indigenous authorities of Paraybamba sets a precedent for the resurgence of the Paraybambas against Cisneros and signals the consolidation of a new source of justice in the area. This is confirmed by don Fermín who reminds one of the Senators in Lima of the forthcoming implications of this: 'A Cisneros lo ha castigado un alcalde indio. Lo hizo azotar desnudándole en la plaza del pueblo. Medite en eso' (p. 357).

This restoration of the *ayllu* and its communal structures of organization is also confirmed by the words of one of don Lucas' *colonos* after the latter has been killed by don Bruno: 'Somos gente...Vamos a sembrar maíz...Ya sabemos lo que tenemos que hacer. Hay orden. Cada diez tenemos un mando, un k'ollana' (p. 438). The direct corollary between the restoration of property (the *hacienda*), indigenous authority under the *varayoq* system ('un mando') and humanity ('somos gente'), is more than evident here, prompting a transformation in the *colonos* who become incorporated into the cosmological order and attain symbolic force: 'Los indios lanzaron un grito; parecía que la voz había salido de las montañas...El grito brotó como del fondo de toda la tierra: "¡Son indios! Pero ¿qué más Señor?", volvió a preguntarse don Bruno' (p. 439). The formation of a *cabildo* at the end of this scene marks the final step towards the re-establishment of the *ayllu* and highlights the role of the indigenous authorities in this. What has been evidenced here, and will be seen in more detail in the next chapter, is Arguedas' ability to represent or utilize the largely ceremonial or symbolic power of the mayors to inspire alternative concepts of indigenous resistance. The *varayoq* ultimately provide a framework in which the *comuneros*, some of whom were previously *colonos*, are able to organize and present a united front in the face of encroaching adversaries.

Chapter Three: Rendón Willka and the Emergence of an Indigenous Leadership

i) The *Cholo* as a National Model in the Social Sciences

The fact that indigenous culture was able to respond to new socio-economic and cultural realities in both rural and urban contexts, precipitating the emergence of new social actors, *cholos*, operating in both these contexts, or moving continually from one to another, has led to the nation as a whole being described as culturally *cholo* by a number of social scientists. As seen in Chapter One, the latter, such as Carlos Franco (1991) and José Guillermo Nugent (1992), have attempted to create a conceptual framework to account for the presence of a large floating population in the cities which is self-employed in the informal economy. With migration beginning in the late 1920s and increasing in the 1940s and 1950s, geocultural and socio-economic lines became less clearly delineated, Indians becoming socially mobile, urban subjects, constructing 'parallel' cities, jobs and traditions which linked *sierra* and coast in a way the state was unable to do (Franco 1991, 32).[1] Whilst migrants transformed life in the cities, *campesino-cholos* in the *sierra* became radicalized in the 1950s and 1960s with the spread of education and left-wing ideology, precipitating a wave of peasant land invasions and the restructuring of a land tenure system.

Sociologists generally agree that the *cholo* is a product of migration and modernization, but the lack of a consensual discourse on these phenomena and the fact that they are still ongoing, means that the *cholo* immediately assumes definitional problems. Because of the processual nature of migration and modernization, the latter are not only difficult to conceptualize in the social sciences, but also difficult to historicize precisely, with successive waves beginning as early as the 1920s and continuing up to the present day. Also, unlike the words 'Indian' or 'Andean', the word *cholo* is used at a popular level, making an accurate analysis of its semantic value

[1] Kinship ties reproduced in provincial clubs maintain links between migrants in the city and between migrants and *comuneros* in the *ayllus*. These ties operate on the principle of *ayni*, or reciprocity, on which indigenous culture is based. As Rodrigo Montoya has described, migrants recreate their pre-Columbian traditions in a context of modernity by combining these collective principles with individual interests directed towards the market (1987a, 18-19).

difficult. As seen in Chapter One, it is one more in a long list of ethnic terms which must be contextualized if they are to be understood.[2]

Aníbal Quijano has been one of the first to study the emergence of the *cholo* in relation to the changes taking place in Peru in the 1950s and 1960s, arguing that due to the fact that all societies undergo a process of change it is important to determine the nature of change at a particular historical moment.[3] He also emphasizes that the particularities of Peruvian society, with its mixed socio-economic composition, makes it: 'una sociedad de transición' (1980, 50). In this sense change or transition does not signify a complete replacement of the traditional by the new, but a reconfiguration of both old and new elements. Despite the dualistic nature of Peru's stratification system during the colonial era, Indian and *criollo* cultures are profoundly changed through contact with one another and this, alongside increased mobility due to a market led economy, gives rise to intermediary groups which challenge the traditional colonial *casta* system (1980, 54). As seen in Chapter One, many Indians in colonial society became *forasteros* or *mestizos* in order to escape tribute and *mita* obligations (Harris 1995, 358). By the 1960s, after the first wave of migration to the coast in the 1920s and 1930s, politicized Indians in the *sierra* now saw that they could become *cholos* in order to challenge the status quo (Bourricaud 1975, 381; 386). Quijano chooses to concentrate on this group which, through a process of 'grupualización' (1980, 63),[4] consolidates a cultural identity of its own, defining itself as *cholo* and emerging as a potential leader of the working classes and peasantry.[5]

Quijano places the emergence of the *cholo* in a context of 'pluralismo étnico colonial y postcolonial' (1980, 56). He suggests that although mobility was prevalent during the colonial (and pre-colonial) era, large-scale structural changes do not take place until the Republican period or early twentieth century. It is during Leguía's presidency, with increased primary school education, expanded communication

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[2] Because of the added pejorative connotations of the term *cholo*, it is not usually self-ascribed. As seen in Chapter One, the term is usually used in a context of power or domination to establish a hierarchy between interlocutors.

[3] Aníbal Quijano, *Dominación y cultura. Lo cholo y el conflicto cultural en el Perú* (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1980). This in fact first appeared as 'La emergencia del grupo cholo y sus implicaciones en la sociedad peruana (esquema de enfoque aproximativo)', *Memorias del Congreso Latinoamericano de Sociología de Bogotá*, (1964).

[4] For Quijano 'grupualización' is also associated with union activity and politicization (1980, 105-106). This is echoed by Julio Cotler (1970, 84).

[5] Whether anyone has ever defined themselves as *cholo* is, however, debatable due, as mentioned in Chapter One, to the term's pejorative connotations at the level of popular speech.

networks, such as roads and radios, and migration to the city, that the process of *cholificación* really begins to take hold, particularly in the younger generation (1980, 64-65; 92). At a class level, these *cholos* are incorporated into the lowest stratum of society, at the high end of Indian culture and the low end of the working or middle classes (1980, 65). In more ways than one, therefore, the *cholo* represents a picaresque character, mediating between social strata in a society in transition between feudal and capitalist structures. The desire to avoid acculturation by maintaining contact with both cultures is manifest in language, religious beliefs, artisanal production techniques and the adherence to traditional forms of organization such as *compadrazgo*, or kinship, networks (1980, 71). As Quijano emphasizes, this represents not so much a culture in the process of transition but a cultural grouping in its own right. The feeling of being different from the rest of society, articulated at the level of popular culture,[6] ultimately contributes to the emergence of group consciousness, enabling *cholos* to resist acculturation by Creole and *mestizo* societies.[7]

Quijano's essay posits itself as a rigorous scientific and theoretical study, attempting to link a socio-economic approach, that is, a traditional Marxist class based analysis, with a culturalist perspective, thus examining the process of modernization from both angles. According to him, the classic Marxist outlook is no longer valid in a contemporary climate of cultural conflict.[8] However, the terms 'aculturación' and 'mestizaje cultural' (1980, 70) are not seen to be valid either, since they suggest a uniform and wholesale process of transformation taking place. What is in evidence is a process of *cholificación*, the latter denoting partial or selective transformation, very much dependent on the individual in question and his/her circumstances (1980, 70-71). Different levels of *cholificación* are, therefore, in evidence. A *cholo* can be more or less Indian or *criollo* depending on his social and geographical situation or can be neither if he is in the process of changing one status in favour of another. What *cholificación* ultimately reveals,

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[6] Quijano revealed how the figure of the *cholo* pervaded popular songs and stories, reflecting characteristics, such as 'hombría', insolence and a desire for adventure, which challenged the official order (1980, 72). According to Quijano, these were primarily a result of his geographical mobility. The *cholo* also satirized those who had appropriated *criollo* values, revealing his cultural sympathies with indigenous culture from which he had emerged (1980, 72).

[7] Cotler, like Quijano, ultimately links the intermediary position of this figure to his leadership role during the land invasions of the 1960s (1970, 81-85).

[8] This somewhat contradicts Quijano's remarks at the *Mesa redonda* on *U.S.*, as will be seen in the next section. Only today are social scientists beginning to take a revisionist view of rigid Marxist conceptual frameworks prevalent in the 1960s.

argues Quijano, is the transition from an 'adscrito' status or identity to one which was 'adquerido' (1980, 73-74).[9] In this way, Quijano manages to highlight how social and cultural mobility play a decisive part of the process of modernization.[10]

Quijano's attempt to provide a conceptual framework for the *cholo* which does not depend on dualistic methods counterpoising Creole and Indian, is not entirely successful because, ultimately, it is based on the premise that large-scale cultural exchange, or *cholificación*, does not take place until the early twentieth century era, any interaction taking place in the colonial period being limited (1980, 53) and later even 'enforced' (1980, 112). This, however, as seen previously, has been called into question by a current of revisionist historians and sociologists. The latter, such as Irene Silverblatt (1987) and Thierry Saignes (1983), place the process of miscegenation at the moment of encounter between the two cultures, emphasizing that 'accommodation' and 'adaptation' (Silverblatt 1987, 212) rather than overt 'enforcement' are the order of the day during colonial times, arguing that society then was even more mobile than in later eras.

Quijano concludes, rather simplistically, that only the arrival of the *cholo* ends the 'incomunicación' (1980, 113) between the two cultures, but he is not specific about when the *cholo* emerges with this force. Despite his obvious desire for scientific exactitude, manifest in his precision over the details of *cholificación*, this lack of historical accuracy is rather disconcerting. By the end of his study, it becomes apparent that Quijano is presenting not just a sociological treatise on the *cholo* but a manifesto of what he considers to be the future protagonist and embodiment of the nation. The study concludes with a rather flamboyant appraisal of what he sees to be an emerging 'nuevo nacionalismo' (1980, 108), insisting not only on the economic and political independence of the country, but on its cultural peculiarities too. Nevertheless, whilst he stresses the *cholo's* role in this, and the *indigenista* movement which was equated with it, Quijano is vague about dates. What emerges, therefore, is a rather Utopian view of Peruvian

[9] Distinguishing between 'ascriptive' (self-ascribed) and 'adscriptive' (ascribed by others) identities and roles lies at the heart of ethnicity studies. See Barth (1982, 13) and Van den Berghe (1974, 17-18).

[10] What Quijano is attempting to do here is reveal the hybridity of *cholificación*: its multiplicity. This has been echoed recently by Franco (1991) and Nugent (1992), as seen previously. To these, could be added Walter A. Twanama, who builds on the notion of 'etnicidad popular' (1992, 228) by revealing how access to modernity leads to the construction of new identities which are neither Indian, *criollo* or *mestizo*. Quijano's theory of uneven *cholificación*, therefore, forms a vital precursor to recent attempts by social scientists to challenge the all too homogenizing categories of previous academic eras, such as the Marxist 1960s.

history, particularly when Quijano suggests that Peru could become a model for other Latin American countries with indigenous cultures. The dawn of a 'new nationalism' thus becomes more of a mythical possibility than a material event, so that *cholificación*, like *mestizaje*, is ultimately reduced to a homogenizing and ahistorical image of cultural integration.

Politicization and Land Invasions in the Andes

As Sánchez Enríquez (1981, 22) points out, the existence of class differentiation amongst peasant groups leads to the acquisition of class-consciousness and subsequently to the development of a political organization. As seen in Chapter Two, due to the uneven nature of capitalist production and exchange relations in the southern Andes, full proletarianization and union activity were not widespread. Andahuaylas, for example, retained its predominantly feudal character, with *haciendas* still ubiquitous, day labourers still paid a pittance and peasants still occupying plots too small for subsistence. Different levels of class-consciousness existed, therefore, and with them different levels of political involvement and notions of what was to be achieved. Left-wing ideology relied on political organizations or unions which were usually restricted to industrialized areas.[11] More often than not, therefore, politicization depended on individual levels of education and Spanish acquired through migration (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 108). It is these which often acted as catalysts for the radicalization of the peasantry in local areas.

As pressure on the land increased, migration became an option for acquiring cash and an education. From the 1930s onwards, with the construction of road links to Lima, many migrated to the capital, to mining centres, or to plantations on the coast or in the jungle of Chanchamayo. The fact that migration was largely seasonal had contradictory effects however (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 58-59). Since migrants maintained strong links with their *ayllus* due to inheritance lines, many returned and by doing so were able to strengthen these units economically, through financial reinvestment and by buying up more lands. On the other hand, their return diffused the

11 The spread of left-wing ideology began in the 1920s with the growth of union activity on the coast, ultimately leading to the formation of APRA in 1924 and, in 1928, the Communist Party by Mariátegui.

threat of loss of labour for local landowners, the latter maintaining a monopoly over resources in the area. It was not until several decades later, when many migrants returned definitively, bought their own land with their savings and found that now the state, through the government agency SINAMOS, was threatening to take it from them, that a radicalized discourse of resistance was achieved in a more sustainable form (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 83-84).

Early attempts, from 1930 to 1940, to recuperate communal lands by the peasantry had centred around the use of colonial land-titles, and invasions of property were generally peaceful (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 65).[12] Recuperating a common land base and re-establishing a communal system of organization became fundamental for the official recognition of the *ayllu* and a political programme of opposition (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 65). Díaz Martínez (1985, 181) links the history of peasant uprisings in Ayacucho and Apurímac to the response to Piérola's *Estanco* on salt and alcohol in northern Ayacucho in 1896, the latter paralleling the wave of invasions in the late 1890s in Puno and Cuzco.[13] Flores Galindo (1976) charts 137 peasant invasions from 1900 to 1920,[14] one of the most important of these being the millenarian rebellion of *Rumi Maqui* in Azángaro in 1915 which aimed to establish an independent Quechua-Aymara Republic. These uprisings became more radicalized as educational programmes mixed with left-wing ideology. Between 1920 and 1927, during Leguía's anti-oligarchical presidency, the *Patronato de Derecho Indígena* registered 337 community claims on 115 *haciendas* in the south which had expropriated land (Díaz Martínez 1985, 184). The official recognition of many *ayllus* between 1942 and 1946 by the *Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Indígenas* and the formation of the *Confederación Campesina del Perú* in 1945, however, was followed by a military coup by Odría in 1948 and the process of land

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[12] This has been documented by Martin Lienhard in *Testimonios, cartas y manifiestos indígenas. Desde la conquista hasta comienzos del siglo xx* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1992). According to Flores Galindo (1978, 177), the recourse to land titles and 'personeros' (legal representatives) reveals the capacity of the Indian community to work within Spanish colonial structures to achieve justice. For Hobsbawm, the use of land titles, with their 'moral claim' (1974, 126) to land, also reflects an ability to work within the legal system, which ultimately links peasants with the national power system (1974, 142).

[13] The period 1890-1930 constitutes a second phase of *hacienda* expansion after the early colonial period. Land invasions at this time were generally localized and dispersed, but formed an important precedent to those of the 1960s (Montoya 1986, 259). Hobsbawm (1974, 133) reveals how many Indians, who had been organized into units of *montoneros*, were left militarized and armed after the Pacific War. The expansion of the wool and beef markets in the 1930s, leading to large-scale land expropriations by *hacendados* and agro-industrial enclaves, meanwhile, extended the defensive action of indigenous communities (Flores Galindo 1994, 257-259).

[14] This is quoted in Antonio Díaz Martínez, *Ayacucho: hambre y esperanza* (Lima: Mosca Azul Editores, 1985), p. 182.

restitution was slowed to a minimum. It was not until twenty years later with the shift to a reformist civil government under Belaúnde that the unanswered question of indigenous land came to the fore once more. This led to another wave of land invasions, the high point of which came between August 1963 and August 1964 and involved three hundred thousand peasants (Flores Galindo 1978, 176).

According to Julio Cotler (1976, 320) and Rodrigo Montoya (1986, 248), the invasions from 1945 on were 'agrarian', or peasant, in the true sense of the term, since they were concerned primarily with land and labour issues, such as reduced working hours and the abolition of unsalaried labour. For the first time in the country's history, the invasions included the large-scale participation of *colonos* who took their cue from anti-feudalist agrarian syndicates.[15] For Flores Galindo, this meant that the land invasions radically challenged the relations of power in the *sierra* based on *mistis* and *indios* (1994, 297). This, together with a dramatic demographic increase in the area which put an enormous pressure on *hacienda* land, posed a serious challenge to oligarchical monopoly.[16] As both Handleman (1975, 111) and Flores Galindo (1994, 295) point out, compared to the land invasions of the 1920s, those of the 1960s were more frequent and widespread. When Lino Quintanilla talks about the number of *comuneros* turned into *colonos*, or *hacienda runas*, due to the expropriation of their lands, mentioning the case of one *hacienda* in Andahuaylas which comprised ten *ayllus*, that is four thousand people, all renting land from the *hacendado*, one can appreciate how explosive the situation had become by 1974 (1981, 25).

The 1964 and 1969 Agrarian Reforms put an official end to the system of land in return for labour, or *mita*, obliging landowners to introduce salaried work and rent out land. The inability to comply with this, coupled with other factors such as the poor quality of the soil, low productivity and isolation from the market, however, caused many to abandon their lands (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 74). The challenge to the *hacienda* system not only came from these factors and the growing influence of the peasantry, but from a new political programme favouring coastal urbanization and industrialization

[15] This reflects the point made by Flores Galindo about the need to link the peasant invasions to the changes taking place in the socio-economic structures at the time (1978, 180).
[16] According to local statistics, the population in the area increased by fifty per cent from 1940 to 1950 (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 73).

rather than agriculture in the *sierra* (Flores Galindo 1994, 304). The shift in the balance of power from the traditional rural oligarchy, with its regional *gamonal* culture, to an emergent bourgeois class in favour of centralization was, however, not a smooth or consistent one. In areas far from the metropolis, such as Andahuaylas, the gradual demise of the *hacendado* class was not automatically compensated for by a new industrial class. Sánchez Enríquez (1981, 29) describes how in Andahuaylas, the failure of the Agrarian Reform to arrive soon enough - it was announced in 1969 but not put into practice until six years later in 1975, due to isolation from the coast - made some *hacendados* sell their land to the peasants, others sell to multinationals and others abandon the area altogether.[17] As explored in the previous chapter, this is captured by Arguedas in *TLS* in the conflict undergone by the *vecino* community in San Pedro. In many ways, this situation leads to what Flores Galindo has called a 'vacío de poder' (1994, 305), in which traditional and emergent groups vie for socio-economic, cultural and political power.

As has been seen in Chapter Two, the peasantry was stratified according to socio-economic and cultural factors, such as land, labour and level of education, into two main groups: *comuneros* and *colonos*, or *feudatarios*. According to Sánchez Enríquez (1981, 108-109) and Lino Quintanilla (1981, 29), the vanguard of the peasant resistance movement came from the low to middling strata of *comuneros* who had been forced to migrate for economic reasons and had acquired a level of education.[18] The radicalization of the *comuneros* who had been given a taste of economic independence through the system of 'producción parcelaria' (Montoya 1979; 1980a), mirrors that of the 'arrendire' peasants in La Convención who in 1962 invaded seventy *haciendas*, seeking to eliminate unsalaried work and put into practice an Agrarian Reform (Flores Galindo 1994, 296).[19] By 1974,

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[17] This did not just take place in Andahuaylas. According to Flores Galindo (1994, 300), the system of landowners selling land to peasants became known as a 'private Agrarian Reform', preceding that of 1969.

[18] The influence of unions, such as CPP and FENCAP, on the land invasions is now well documented by sociologists and historians. The unions are seen to arise with increased industrialization, particularly on the coast, and their platform is strongly anti-imperialist. According to some, they both radicalize and diffuse indigenous resistance, since they usually discriminate in favour of salaried workers. This point has been made by José Manuel Mejía (1979) in his critique of Kapsoli's (1977) influential study of land invasions. Mejía argues that Kapsoli failed to take into account the role of the unions in the land occupations. The unions, after having served the interests of proletarianized workers, largely abandoned the other strikers (1979, 96).

[19] Hugo Blanco, quoted by Cotler (1970, 85), confirms the 'bourgeois' nature of the uprising in La Convención, revealing that other issues, as well as land, labour relations, for example, were now also important. This, as mentioned, suggests that the invasions were now truly 'peasant', particularly where the unions were involved.

the peasantry of Andahuaylas was in a position to retaliate, some forty thousand invading fifty haciendas between July and September (García Sayán 1982, 76).

But it was the system of land tenure, the co-existence of *haciendas* and 'producción parcelaria', together with the land invasions, which ultimately led to the disintegration of the *hacienda* system in many parts of the southern *sierra* (Sánchez Enríquez 1981, 222).[20] Favre's (1976) paper on the *haciendas* in Huancavelica highlights how the *haciendas* were also defeated by national policies. Although this disavows the strength of the peasantry, it does reveal the *haciendas'* dependence on external factors, such as national political programmes, as well as structural conditions. Nevertheless, the demise of the *hacienda* system and the reconfiguration of the system of stratification in the southern *sierra* became a reality by the early 1960s. This process, with the negotiation of alternative power relations and categories of identity was a slow and hazardous one and, as many would argue, continues to this day.[21]

Resistance and Millenarianism

In the study of Andean society and the place of indigenous groups within it, Flores Galindo (1994, 17-18) has joined Arguedas[22] in contrasting Peru with Mexico. Both suggest that the higher level of *mestizaje* in Mexico has meant a greater participation of peasant society in national politics culminating, as Flores Galindo points out, in Zapatismo and the Revolution. This makes Mexico more socially and culturally homogenous than Peru, where poverty and the mountainous terrain have isolated groups and enabled them to retain an alternative historical memory.

These notions of history form part of what social scientists, such as Alberto Flores Galindo, have called an Andean Utopia (1994, 13).[23] This concept is based on an image of an egalitarian society rooted in the Inca past and capable of being reproduced in the

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[20] Sánchez Enríquez reveals that the land invasions in Andahuaylas were preceded by a gestation period of up to a decade, in which class-consciousness was consolidated (1981, 225). The land occupations were, therefore, not a spontaneous reaction against the state and its *CAPS* and *SAISs* programmes. The formation of the *FEPCA* (*Federación Provincial de Campesinos de Andahuaylas*) in January 1973, with its avowedly anti-feudal and anti-imperialist line, aiming to forge an alliance between proletariat and peasantry, also reveals the part played by the unions in the land invasions (Quintanilla 1981, 41-42).

[21] This vacuum of power has given radical left-wing groups such as *Sendero Luminoso* room to manoeuvre in recent years (Altamirano 1983, 207; Flores Galindo 1994, 305).

[22] José María Arguedas, 'El complejo cultural en el Perú', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 1-8 (p. 1).

[23] See also Manuel Burga, *Nacimiento de una utopía: muerte y resurrección de los Incas* (Lima: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1988) and Manuel Burga, 'La emergencia de lo andino como utopía (siglo xvii)', *Allpanchis Phuturinqa*, 35-36 (1990), 579-598.

future. The emergence of an Andean Utopia can thus be seen as a conscious effort to preserve a local (Andean) sense of identity in the face of Creole culture on the coast. Flores Galindo traces the evolution of this paradigm to Pizarro's entry in Cuzco in 1548, when rumours began to circulate that the Inca royal family was still alive and ruling in Vilcabamba in the jungle east of Cuzco (1994, 29-40).[24] This gave rise to the ideal of Peru being governed by a native monarch.[25] The indigenous movement of *Taqui Ongoy* in 1560 contributed to the creation of this Utopia by encouraging the revival of local cult worship, in the form of the ancient *huacas* of the Inca Empire, *Tahuantinsuyo*. This was perhaps the first serious threat to church and state in the early colonial era.

Between 1570 and 1780, with Spanish enthusiasm for proselytizing on the wane, the idea of an Andean Utopia, expressed in murals, poetry and plays and led by the remaining *curaca* group, many of whom were now *mestizos*, became public, pan-Andean and subversive, revealing a critique of the colonial regime (Flores Galindo 1994, 50). Garcilaso de la Vega's status as a *mestizo*, his adoption of the term 'Inca' together with his depiction of Inca rule, published in *Los comentarios reales* in 1609, based on a Platonic idea of the past serving as an ethical model for the future of the nation, gave further impetus to the Utopia. But perhaps the most damning indictment of Spanish rule came from Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala, or Hawk-Puma. Written in the form of a letter to Philip III, *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (1585-1613) bears witness to Spanish atrocities in the early days of empire and inverts the Spanish-Christian/Indian-pagan dichotomy on which the nation was colonized. For Poma, the Indians are the true Christians since they are redeemed by their suffering. By the 1570s, the Andean Utopia seemed to be manifesting itself outside artistic forms when an Indian from the *curaca* class calling himself Túpac Amaru I and claiming to come from Vilcabamba, declared himself the legitimate heir to Atahuallpa, garrotted in 1533. Although he was beheaded in 1572, for the *curacas* at least the Andean Utopia was not diminished until 1781 when Túpac Amaru II was forced under the guillotine. After this event, Inca images were prohibited,

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[24] The idea of Vilcabamba as the seat of past and future Inca power stemmed from indigenous dualistic concepts of organization. It soon became synonymous with 'el Paititi', a mythical double of Cuzco, located in the jungle (Flores Galindo 1994, 45). This is implicitly evoked in the final paragraph of *RP*, which represents the river Pachachaca flowing downstream towards 'la Gran Selva' (p. 243). In the second half of the novel, the image of this river is directly associated with the escape of doña Felipa from the soldiers, that is, with keeping her memory alive by linking her to a mythical site of resistance.

[25] Flores Galindo points out that this was soon supported by *encomenderos* anxious for social mobility and increasingly resentful of the Crown.

many intellectuals and leaders forced to give up their activities (Flores Galindo 1994, 52). Nevertheless, this merely made the resistance movement go underground, for the memory of Vilcabamba, or 'gran Paititi', continued to resonate in oral history, myth and religious ritual.

In his account of the origin and implications of the Andean Utopia, Galindo situates a linear form of history within the cyclical discourse of 'la longue durée' (Braudel 1980, 25), governed by archetypes and paradigms. This ultimately expresses the timelessness of the Andean Utopian model and its capacity to inspire resistance. His admission that it is an innovative recreation of the past ultimately reinforces this, making it in many ways 'abolish' time, as Eliade (1989, 35) would say. The 'compatibility' of Spanish and Inca elements and with it the implicit superimposition of Inca on Spanish monarch which lies at the heart of the Andean Utopia, criticism was only levelled at the Spanish authorities not the Crown, leads one to think of the post-Conquest myth of *Inkarrí* and its contraction of the terms 'Inca' and 'Rey'.

Flores Galindo (1994, 19) reveals the regional diversity of the myth when he highlights that fifteen different versions were collected in the Andes between 1953 and 1972, three of which, from Puquio, were translated by Arguedas and published in 1956.[26] Despite regional differences, the versions reveal common features. To start with, the central protagonist *Inkarrí* represents a composite figure, as mentioned, of Inca and Spanish monarchs, the implication being that the population of the country is answerable only to this figure rather than to the colonial authorities. The image of a beheaded *Inkarrí* immediately brings to mind the sense of fragmentation after the Conquest, the country literally left 'head-less', but it also brings to mind the figures of Atahuallpa, Túpac Amaru I and II, all garrotted or beheaded by the Spanish. In other words, the myth establishes a historical continuity between these figures, much as Guamán Poma's picture of the beheaded Túpac Amaru I (1987b, 461), directly reflects the garrotting of Atahuallpa in 1533 (1987b, 399).

The myth also suggests a cyclical notion of time, based on the division of time into three ages. This corresponds to Christian millenarian notions of time. Flores Galindo

[26] José María Arguedas, 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 34-79 (pp. 39-42).

(1994, 23) suggests these were brought to the Andes by Franciscan priests, inspired by Joaquín de Fiori's (1145-1202) concept of three ages: God the Father, representing the Old Testament and the past; the Son, denoting the New Testament and the present, and the Holy Spirit, representing the future. The last stage, representing resurrection on the Day of Judgement, not only restored a past golden age, based on Christ's return, but implied that this would take place in an imminent rather than far-off future. Whilst this was condemned as heretical by the church, it had great appeal for poverty stricken peasants in medieval Europe (Flores Galindo 1994, 23-24). Furthermore, the notion of Christ's impending return was bolstered by the religious climate of the time set by the crusades.[27]

These notions of time, with their overtly millenarian and messianic overtones, are echoed in the *Inkarrí* cycle with its division of time into three ages which progress in a linear and cyclical fashion: in the 'past', *Inkarrí* created the world; in the present, or recent past, he was beheaded, his head buried in Cuzco and his body elsewhere, in Lima or even Spain, but, underground, both grow towards each other; in the future, the head and the body will fuse and become resurrected on the Day of Judgement, *Inkarrí* thus becoming reconstituted, marking a return to the past and completing the cycle. This has clear Christian connotations, paralleling the cycle of Christ's death and resurrection.[28] The unity of head and body, or the restoration of the 'body-politic', also correlates with the Andean Utopia and its image of Vilcabamba, or *Paititi*, an Inca past, upon which the nation will be reconstituted. It becomes a myth of origin, helping to explain present day suffering and offering the hope for future restoration. Because *Inkarrí* is an absent god, he becomes a latent force, providing a multiple metaphor for processual reconstitution.

The myth, therefore, fuses Christian millenarian and messianic notions of time with indigenous cyclical time structures. Its time pattern is thus both linear and cyclical, a spiral is more accurate. This reflects an Andean cosmology based on rotating dualistic

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[27] By the fifteenth century, Renaissance notions of 'lost worlds', such as El Dorado, began to circulate as empire-building took off (Flores Galindo 1994, 44). These notions were particularly influential amongst those who sought to escape Europe, such as the *conversos* suffering religious persecution in Spain. The 'discovery' of the New World and the encounter with the Indian population was quickly associated with a retrieval of a lost paradisal world and the finding of one of the ten lost tribes of Israel (Flores Galindo 1994, 25).

[28] As Flores Galindo (1994, 24-25) points out, this also follows the metaphor used by St. Paul and propagated by the Franciscan priests, of Christianity as a body and Christ as its head, the potential separation of Christ from his followers mirrored by the separation of head from body.

categories. One such category is *pacha* representing a duality, or intersection, between time and space. Time, following the rotational nature of diurnal and seasonal periods, is associated with agricultural tasks and the spatial locations in which these are performed. From this evolves the concept of *pachacuti*, revolving time-space, or the turning upside down and inside out of time and space, *cuti* meaning turn, change or alternation.[29] This becomes a metaphor for rupture and war. Flores Galindo (1994, 33-43) and Olivia Harris (1989, 221) point out that the Spanish arrival, seen as apocalyptic event, correlated with this notion of *pachacuti*. Due to the cyclical nature of this concept, however, another *pachacuti* was soon anticipated to put an end to this world and mark the beginning of another. The return of Christ, or the reintegration and resurrection of *Inkarrí*, was interpreted as an imminent *pachacuti*.

Notions of linear and cyclical time, where the past imposes itself on the present and future, are, therefore, closely related to notions of space. In Aymara oral tradition, the past is associated with the spatial region of *manqhapacha*, literally, interior world, or below, whilst the present and the future are linked to *cristiyanu timpu*, or above (Harris 1989, 207-212). In Aymara stories, the past is a lower world of darkness, rain, chaos and death, but also fertility because the dead are believed to return to life. The past-below, therefore, becomes a source for the future, through the image of resurrected dead. This is seen symbolically every year in the agricultural cycle. In some regions of Bolivia, between November and March, during the growing or rainy season, the dead are believed to push the potato plants up through the earth (Rowe 1991, 55). This association of past-below with a source of fertility or futurity, is directly represented in the *Inkarrí* myth through the underground, dismembered and 'dead' body of *Inkarrrí*. The fact that *Inkarrí's* body is still 'alive' in some way, piecing itself together, thus constituting a metaphor for growth, means that new life, or the future, becomes possible. The past as an 'enabler' of the future, becomes a source of resistance in the present, whilst the moment of transition between this past and the future is seen as a *pachacuti*: a wholesale transformation, or reversal, of the present order.

[29] In other words, cosmological and social orders, divided into dualistic categories, are maintained through diurnal and seasonal rotation.

The idea of an Andean Utopia, the myth of *Inkarrí* and 'spiralling' notions of time leading to *pachacutis*, reveal the capacity of native communities to retain cultural beliefs and turn these into sources of resistance. Keeping the Inca past alive serves as a model for the future, throwing the Spanish colonial regime into relief and highlighting its failures by contrasting it with that of the Incas. It also serves to provide an alternative world-view with a different social structure and belief system. All this consolidates the power of resistance. This can take a concrete form and become active, such as during *Taqui Ongoy* (1560), the Túpac Amaru I and II (1570; 1780) rebellions, *Rumi Maqui* (1915), and the land invasions of the 1920s and 1960s, where precise notions of an Inca state, that is, an Andean Utopia, often motivated the desire for autonomy (Flores Galindo 1978, 178-180; Montoya 1986, 258-259). On the other hand it can take a passive or indirect line, situated 'underground', in a spatial and temporal region of latency, such as *Inkarrí*. This form of resistance survives through myth or oral beliefs and is manifested in everyday rituals which form part of the agricultural cycle.

The myth of *Inkarrí* reveals, as Flores Galindo has shown, a fusion of Christian millenarian and Utopian concepts. In other words, it embodies a notion of futurity within its cyclical structure. The fact that this also hinges on a messianic figure, a 'culture-hero' who will bring restitution, has had powerful implications for the discourse of Andean insurrection and the evolution of a leadership.[30] Rosalind Gow (1982, 198) sees the evolution of political leadership in the Andes following military ranking lines associated with Andean cosmological concepts. The name 'Villca', for example, is a title equated with the Sun or Inca and given to a military and religious commander (1982, 198). Because the title is not related to a genealogical line, an endless cycle of 'reborn' leaders becomes possible establishing, like *Inkarrí*, a continuity of resistance. Gow reveals how indigenous leaders are also associated with the *apus*, since when they are pursued they are believed to take refuge in the mountains (1982, 199).[31] From this

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[30] Franklin Pease (1977) suggests this notion of Andean resistance, based on the figure of the Inca, emerges after *Taqui Ongoy*, the latter being a revolt against Cuzqueño and Inca power, that is, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It marks a response to changes in tribute and *mita* obligations which were now imposed on many *mestizos*. The use of the Inca as an icon was designed to consolidate ethnic resistance against the Spanish.

[31] One of the most striking examples of this is the Ausangate mountain where the *Señor de Qoyllur Rit'i* is believed to have appeared to a young herder in 1780, the year of Túpac Amaru II's defeat (Gow 1982, 200-201). See also the 1993 B.B.C. documentary *Return to the Sacred Ice*, written and presented by Nicholas Shakespeare. For a description of the ways in which mountains reflect a contemporary power system between *mistis* and *indios*, and an inversion of it, thus offering an alternative framework of power in which

'underground' position, they continue to attack their enemies with earthquakes and floods (1982, 200). Like *Inkarrí*, they are also associated with a crucified Christ who will rise again (1982, 199). The spontaneous emergence of new leaders, with the same name as the last, creates a self perpetuating cycle of resistance. It is also an effective strategic measure, baffling the enemy who cannot understand how 'Willca', for example, can not only have survived death, but can be in so many places at the same time (1982, 205).

The association of the religious-political leader with the local witch-doctor, as Gow (1982, 216) also points out, gives the notion of revolution a curative dimension, the figure of the *paqo*, a healer of personal sickness, merging with that of the revolutionary leader to become a healer of social ills. Concepts of healing, order and justice are all closely associated in Andean culture and link up with the notion of *pachacuti*, the restoration of justice and order thus acquiring 'therapeutic' connotations. The restorative implications of *pachacuti* are also implicit in the images of *amaru*, or the Aymara *catari*. These, with which indigenous leaders personally identified, represent monsters from the underworld, such as snakes or bulls, who will usher in a new order (1982, 217).

For Mariátegui, who Flores Galindo (1994, 268-281) incorporates in the history of the Andean Utopia, these beliefs in myth did indeed have 'therapeutic' value in a post-war society where faith in science and rationality was being questioned. Drawing on Nietzsche and Sorel, Mariátegui's concept of myth attained metaphysical dimensions, designed to quench man's inherent 'sed de infinito' (1987, 25) virtually suppressed by Positivism. Of course, for Mariátegui the 'cure' was to be found in Socialism: a belief system with the same revolutionary implications as myth. In fact, Socialism was designed to replace the religious inspired myths which had aroused the masses in the past. In other words, for Mariátegui, the secular notion of a class struggle attained the spiritual dimensions of previous myths. This blurring of the secular and spiritual establishes a continuity with the Andean Utopia, the latter led by *curacas* and *mestizos*, *cholos* today, motivated by worldly desires for political control.[32] The ability to work within the framework of myth, the Andean Utopia, in order to draw support for their cause, was something these *mestizos* learnt soon enough. Mariátegui too saw the

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the indigenous community may operate, see John Earls, 'The Organization of Power in Quechua Mythology', *Steward Journal of Anthropology*, 1 (1969), 63-82.

[32] Osvaldo Urbano (1974, 171-172) reveals this in relation to Juan Chocne and *Taqui Ongoy*.

advantages of this, conceiving a Socialist mythology which would galvanize the masses: '(este) lenguaje relativista no es asequible, no es inteligible para el vulgo. El vulgo no sutiliza tanto...Hay que proponerle una fe, un mito, una acción...' (1987, 26).

ii) Narrativization of the *Cholo* and Examination of the Bases for an Indigenous Leadership in *Todas las sangres*

In the study of peasant movements and land invasions, historians and social scientists take pains to distinguish different stages of temporal development within these and their relation to wider social and political developments. In his endeavour to establish whether peasant movements are 'revolutionary' or 'reformist' Eric Hobsbawm (1978, 1-12), for example, differentiates 'political' from 'pre-political', 'modern' from 'primitive' and 'anarchist' from 'millenarian'. The problem with this approach is that Hobsbawm assumes too much linearity in historical development. Although he concedes that these groupings are not mutually exclusive and recognizes a degree of overlap between them, the overriding difficulty lies in his schematic attempts to class groups according to the categories 'history' and 'pre-history'. If for Hobsbawm 'millenarian' groups clearly belong to 'pre-history', 'primitive' and 'pre-political', but 'revolutionary', his analysis of peasant land invasions in the southern *sierra* of Peru disavows the revolutionary capacity of these groups by claiming, alongside Favre (1976), that peasants in Peru have never posed a serious threat to the state (Hobsbawm 1974, 149-152). Although he does not ascribe dates to these movements, the value judgements of them makes one think of the temporal divisions, 'pre-history', 'pre-political', of his earlier study. What he and others, as shall be seen, fail to see is the heterogeneity of many of these groups and their ability to combine elements from apparently different temporal frameworks.[33]

Hobsbawm's attempts to create clear-cut chronological and thematic divisions between peasant groups are echoed in Peru. Perhaps the most influential of these, Wilfredo Kapsoli (1977), identifies four stages, arranged sequentially from 1879 to 1965. Like Hobsbawm, he too distinguishes between 'reformist', between 1945 and 1948, and

[33] This is confirmed by Gose (1994, 247) in his critique of Hobsbawm and others who try to establish dichotomies between, as mentioned, 'reformist' and 'revolutionary'.

'revolutionary', from 1956 to 1965, but, as José Manuel Mejía (1979, 95-96) points out, this division is artificial since it fails to take into account the role of peasant unions in the latter phase which made the movements as much 'reformist' as 'revolutionary'.[34] This desire to divide the peasant movement into different historical stages, thus implying an evolutionary progression from one to the other, can also be seen in the work of Julio Cotler and Rodrigo Montoya. Whilst Cotler (1976, 317-323) distinguishes between two periods, from the 1900s to the 1930s and from the 1950s to the 1960s, suggesting that the latter had greater national implications due to the involvement of the unions and *colonos*, Montoya (1986, 259-260) uses the terms 'agrarian' and 'peasant' to highlight what Hobsbawm would call the more 'revolutionary' dimensions of the movements of the 1960s, in contrast to the 'millenarian' period between 1890 and 1930.[35]

Flores Galindo (1978, 180) seems to concur with this, noting an increased radicalism in the peasant movement of the 1960s, for it now questioned the relations of power in the *sierra*, and its national dimensions, since it now constituted a mass movement, but the value of Flores Galindo's approach is his non-adherence to epithets based on rigid time frames[36] and his ability to take a processual view of the peasant movement by tracing lines of continuity between different eras. He detects a radicalism from the earliest days of peasant unrest, the use of colonial land titles testifying to the desire for a 'recuperación' not only of land, but of a history, or 'conciencia histórica' (Flores Galindo 1978, 177).[37] From 1560 with the Utopian *Taqui Ongoy*, to the more secular 1960s, peasant uprisings retained strong indigenous elements, with the use of music during land invasions, for example, and messianic beliefs in an Inca.[38]

Tracing these historiographical approaches is important in order to come to some understanding of the clash of mentalities and methodologies at the *Mesa redonda* on *TLS* between the social scientists and Arguedas. Whilst the former then, and later, attempted

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[34] Mejía denies the 'revolutionary' dimensions of the movements of the later period, seeing those of 1945-48 as more 'revolutionary' due to the influence of APRA, the Communist Party and the unions in mobilizing the peasants.

[35] According to Montoya (1986, 248), as seen in the previous section, the demand for labour reforms, as well as land, and the links with the unions makes these groups more 'revolutionary'.

[36] For example: 'millenarian' being equivalent to 'pre-history' and 'pre-political' (Hobsbawm 1978) and the period from 1890 to 1930 (Kapsoli 1977).

[37] Martin Lienhard (1992b) traces this in a systematic way. The term 'conciencia histórica', meanwhile, is also used by Antonio Cornejo Polar (1973, 243) in his description of Rendón Willka whose outlook has become politicized through migration.

[38] Flores Galindo (1978, 182) cites the example given by Earls (1969, 79) of Hugo Blanco being equated with the Inca.

to separate temporal and spatial categories out, presenting historical development as a sequential phenomenon, it becomes increasingly clear that Arguedas, like Flores Galindo after him, takes a radically different approach, combining elements from different frameworks, that is, from pre-Columbian, colonial and republican eras, to present an image of continuity, simultaneity and diachronism. In short, that the novel functions as a 'synthesis' of Peruvian historical experience, viewing past, present and future in relation, rather than in opposition, to each other, is something critics are only now beginning to see.[39] In order to appreciate some of the epistemological divisions between Arguedas and his social science cohorts, one must go to the *Mesa redonda* of 23 June 1965.

The debate on *TLS* (Arguedas 1985) reveals some important points about the relationship between literature and society and the role of the writer in 1960s Peru. These issues split the participants of the debate into two camps. Alberto Escobar, taking Arguedas' side, argued in favour of the novel as an imaginary reconstruction of society in the southern *sierra*, whilst social scientists such as Henri Favre, backed by critics such as Sebastián Salazar Bondy and José Miguel Oviedo, criticized the novel's lack of sociological 'accuracy'.[40] What was ultimately being contested was the novel's ability to contain both sociological and fictitious, or imaginary, elements. Arguedas clearly revealed that his aim was not to write 'un tratado de sociología' (Arguedas 1985, 36). Implying that his work could be seen as a piece of ethnography instead, based on empirical, that is, personal knowledge, he indirectly justified its interpretative qualities. In the light of recent theories about ethnographic writing by James Clifford (1986) et al., this comes as no surprise to us today, but thirty-two years ago Arguedas was vociferously condemned for it. The attitudes of Salazar Bondy and Oviedo seem particularly harsh when one considers their previous positions at the *Primer encuentro de*

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[39] Guillermo Rochabrún talks about Arguedas 'pensando lo múltiple' (1992, 27); Quijano makes a case for 'la propuesta arguediana' (1988, 68-69) which represents 'una compleja historia de producción de nuevos sentidos históricos'; and Forgues (1979, 38) argues that Arguedas' 'afán totalizante' means that he presents events as a historical continuum. But Forgues goes one step further by arguing that Arguedas ends up creating a Utopian image of *mestizaje*. Apart from coming perilously close to Vargas Llosa's misconceived notion of 'la utopía arcaica' (1978; 1996), this is misleading because it assumes too much linearity in Arguedas' narrative and ends up presenting myth as something separate from historical time. I would argue that Arguedas maintains a simultaneity of 'myth' and 'history' (or 'archetypalism' and 'historicism') throughout his work, particularly in *TLS*.

[40] Salazar Bondy (Arguedas 1985, 24; 30) attacked the novel for not being a valid sociological document. To a lesser extent, this was reiterated by Oviedo (Arguedas 1985, 31).

narradores peruanos (Arguedas 1986a) and their endorsement of imaginary or fictitious elements in the novel.[41]

What must be kept in mind in the analysis of this debate, however, is the intellectual climate of the time, since the meeting took place under the auspices of the newly established *I.E.P.*[42] and shortly after the studies by Favre (1976) and Quijano (1980) on the peasantry in Huancavelica and the processes of *cholificación*. These two studies, together with the *I.E.P.*, fixed the ideological agenda of the social scientists. This agenda was based on a number of assumptions, operating within a Marxist-Leninist framework.[43] Firstly, the indigenous community was seen to be irrevocably involved in the process of *mestizaje* so that it was now seen as a non-ethnic peasant group.[44] This view was expressed by Favre who had just delivered his paper on the peasantry of Huancavelica, seen in the previous chapter. Secondly, this process, also known as *cholificación*, was considered, particularly by Quijano (1980), as irreversible since it was believed to be based on linear notions of social change, or modernization. Arguedas challenged these ideas on a number of fronts, converging on the figure of Rendón Willka. Since this chapter focuses on the role of this character, some of the issues raised in the debate on nomenclature in relation to him will also be highlighted. Because nomenclatures are always situated in temporal and spatial frameworks, as Bakhtin (1994) reminds us, the terms *indio, campesino* and *cholo* raise questions about 'chronotopic' frames and, ultimately, the epistemological systems the latter refer to, that is, 'science' or 'literature'. Arguedas' preference for the term *ex indio* for Rendón is significant, highlighting very possibly a desire to avoid sociological categories altogether.

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[41] Ironically, at this gathering Arguedas appeared to be the more conservative participant, arguing that the novel should convey a sense of 'realidad realidad' (Arguedas 1986a, 140) rather than 'realidad verbal' (Arguedas 1986a, 130) as espoused by Salazar Bondy. The latter also defended the role of the imagination during the polemic over Felipe Angell's novel (Pinilla 1994, 139-153) and in an article on *TLS* (Salazar Bondy 1965), claiming all the while that a novel was better able to convey the conflicts of a country than a sociological study. Carmen Pinilla believes Salazar Bondy's change in attitude in 1965 was the result of his trip to Cuba and his growing involvement with the *I.E.P.* on his return (1994, 230).

[42] See previous chapters and Carmen Pinilla (1994) for more details about this.

[43] Pinilla (1994, 162) reveals how this framework was inspired by a Positivist theory of science, the latter seen as necessary for the understanding and development of the country. These ideas were reiterated by Pinilla in an interview at the Catholic University in Lima in September 1995. Rochabrún confirms this by describing the attitude of the social scientists as: 'racionalismo occidental productivista' (1992, 27).

[44] Walter A. Twanama (1992, 230-231) reveals how the rigid Marxist doctrine of the 1960s did not leave room for a socio-cultural analysis of ethnicity, the latter (*casta* in the *Mesa redonda* on *TLS*) being seen as a class issue.

a. The Historicist Discourse

Despite the misunderstandings of the *Mesa redonda* and the fact that the novel was judged as a piece of sociology, Quijano was correct in saying that the social scientists had contributed to the writing of the novel and could, therefore, assist in its analysis (Arguedas 1985, 77). As a 'testimonio', it is inevitable that the novel expressed a personal vision, this is in fact reiterated throughout by Arguedas, but it also had a social dimension since the writer formed part of a social context, particularly if he himself was an anthropologist and acutely aware of his surroundings. In a sense, therefore, what Bravo Bresani (1966) said before the first *Mesa redonda* on literature and sociology, about the need for the social sciences and literature to collaborate in the analysis of Peruvian society, should in theory have worked. The two disciplines had parallel concerns, such as the issue of empiricism (Pinilla 1994, 222). A novel, read as a 'testimonio', in both its personal and social dimensions, was inevitably empiricist, like a sociological account. Two works, such as *TLS* and Quijano's (1980) study of the *cholos*, could, therefore, have points in common. These do in fact exist and Arguedas' own work on the Mantaro valley could possibly have inspired his next novel, *TLS*, and Quijano's study.[45] In many ways, therefore, the social scientists, and particularly Quijano, could have established a more fruitful dialogue with Arguedas. The *Mesa redonda*, however, stands as a testament to the failure of taking an interdisciplinary approach when one discipline bears the weight of an all too rigid political outlook.

This all too rigid political outlook meant that emphasis came to be placed on debating the ideological outcome of the novel and Arguedas was inevitably chastised for presenting an anachronistic and 'negative' image of the nation through Rendón's alliance with don Bruno.[46] Arguedas' rebuttal (Arguedas 1985, 26-29), highlighting Rendón's ability to respond to modernity through a partnership with the capitalist don Fermín, his acceptance that the lorry must replace the horse, and, equally, his pact with

[45] Quijano actually alludes to Arguedas' work on the Mantaro region and confirms that Huancayo was one of the most active sites of cholificación (1980, 83). This reveals his recognition of the role of indigenous culture, the *comunero* turned migrant, in the process of modernization. In this sense, his study of the *cholo*, like Arguedas' study of the Mantaro valley, shows the indigenous community forming a new group within society, resisting rather than succumbing to acculturation, contrary to what Favre (1976) suggested.

[46] The issue of the positive/negative impact of the novel on the country was raised by Favre (Arguedas 1985, 39). The idea of literature being able to change society (Arguedas 1985, 37) reveals what Pinilla (1994, 162) has called the 'Positivist' outlook of the social scientists at the time.

don Bruno after the latter comes round to his and don Fermín's objectives, fell on deaf ears. A dispute on nomenclature soon ensued. Favre objected to Arguedas' historical 'inaccuracy' in his seeing social reality in terms of *casta* rather than class (Arguedas 1985, 37).[47] By making the Indian community and Rendón the protagonists of the novel, Arguedas was accused of avoiding the class issue and of giving an *indigenista* solution to the problem of the peasantry.[48] Arguedas' response was to reveal the problem of both the terms *indio* and *campesino* due to the regional diversity of the country, citing the example of four *pongos* in Huancavelica who, not speaking Spanish, could not be called peasants either due to their landless condition (Arguedas 1985, 44-45). Countering the claim that the novel proffered an *indigenista* solution, Arguedas emphasized that Rendón was not an *indio* since his outlook had been modified through migration (Arguedas 1985, 46). Whilst Favre objected to *cholificación* being presented as 'reversible' in the novel, Rendón reincorporating himself in the indigenous context of the *sierra* (Arguedas 1985, 38), Arguedas maintained that the process depended on local realities (Arguedas 1985, 44-47). Implicit in Arguedas' argument is the notion that, unlike in Huancavelica and the Mantaro valley where seasonal migration and the system of 'producción parcelaria' (Montoya 1979; 1980a) may have led to the Indian community becoming 'peasants', in Apurímac the distance from urban centres and the existence of large *haciendas* meant that this process was slow when it was not uneven.

Arguedas' concern to reveal the nomenclative diversity within Andean society and the heterogeneity of the Indian community can be traced back to his very first narrative venture. It is in fact in *Agua* that Arguedas first introduces the figure of the *cholo* and debates his position in a *serrano* context. It is not, however, until *YF* that the *cholo* comes to play a more prominent role in his work. As Antonio Cornejo Polar (1973, 20; 252-255) and Flores Galindo (1992, 14-16) have pointed out, this mirrors the social changes undergone in the country at the time, such as the expansion of roads and migration. By the time he writes *YF*, therefore, the *cholo*, or *mestizo*, has become an

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[47] Guillermo Rochabrún's transcript of the debate reveals a glaring error in the original published version. Rochabrún has Favre later object to Arguedas' concept of *casta* (see p. 23 and p. 53 of the new transcript). The original prints *clase* here (Arguedas 1985, 52-53), which is obviously inconsistent. The unpublished transcript was given to me in a meeting with Rochabrún at the Catholic University in Lima in September 1995.

[48] Favre (Arguedas 1985, 38) alluded to his fieldwork in Huancavelica where he saw only exploited peasants. His Marxist theories had no sympathy for *indigenista* readings, regarded as Manichean and biologist.

unavoidable feature of the socio-cultural landscape. If the position of the *cholos* is closely examined for the first time in *YF*, this forms a basis for the emergence of Rendón in *TLS*. In *YF*, and later in *TLS*, Arguedas reveals how ethnic groups play out the power struggle between modern, urban and *criollo*, and feudal, provincial and *serrano*, forces within their own ranks. In the *cholo* group in *YF*, this can be seen in the conflict between two types of *cholos*: the provincial don Pancho, in alliance with *serrano* powers, represented by don Julián, and the politicized, urban *chalo* Escobar. Both are products of increased urbanization and migration, but represent different directions of this, rural-to-urban transition (Escobar) and urban penetration in the *sierra* (don Pancho).[49]

This in turn reveals different levels of ethnic affiliation and what Quijano (1980, 63) calls 'grupualización'. As shown in *YF*, in Puquio, the *cholos* are seen to be in an intermediary position between the Indians and *mistis*, both dependent on and frequently taking advantage of both groups,[50] whilst in Lima they form ethnically diverse 'provincial clubs' which maintain direct links with their communities (pp. 79-80). Although both groups have lost the timorousness the traditional *mestizos* had towards the established powers - Escobar is not afraid to confront don Julián and don Pancho to challenge the Sub-prefect - they nevertheless fail to draw the support of the Indian community and thus remain isolated figures. In the case of Escobar and his followers, their misguided attempts to liberate the indigenous community from what they see to be the shackles of tradition by supporting the ban on the bullfight, ultimately contribute to consolidate *serrano* forces against them.[51] The *cholo* who, by skill and fortune, in an astute and innovative manner, does manage to gain the allegiance of the *ayllus* and subvert state power, does not appear in Arguedas until Rendón Willka. The latter reveals an ingenuity and a capacity for strategic action altogether lacking in Escobar and his colleagues.

In *YF*, therefore, Arguedas outlines in a preliminary fashion the necessary qualities of a potential leader by presenting the reader with a figure deficient in these

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[49] Bourricaud (1967, 113) reveals that the first wave of migration in the late 1920s was quantitatively and qualitatively different from that in the 1950s, being more limited in number and appealing primarily to the professional classes. He also highlights that in Puquio only two thousand migrated to the coast in the early 1920s (1967, 65).

[50] This is explored by Sara Castro Klarén who describes them as: 'un grupo comodín, flotante, psicológica y socialmente' (1973, 44).

[51] In many ways this part of the novel reads as a humorous exposé of the misinterpretations Mariátegui fell prey to amongst left-wing intellectuals in the 1930s and 1940s.

attributes. Arguedas' anthropological work in Sayago also reveals by contrast the conditions necessary for the emergence of a political and religious discourse of resistance. It is the very lack of social mobility and politicization which denies an opposition movement and the emergence of leaders such as Rendón Willka in Zamora. Political quiescence, achieved through a mixed system of land tenure, that is, *quiñonización* and the maintenance of some communal land, and a strong work ethic, which sustains communal work ties in however a diminished form, discussed in Chapters One and Two, also arises from the way the young are brought up, the education system and the availability of channels of information. Unlike in Peru, where socio-economic changes lead to greater secularization, in Sayago changes in the local economy, such as the introduction of wheat and beef, cause a tightening of church power, particularly after the Civil War, in an attempt to regulate population growth and social mobility.[52]

If sexuality amongst the young and recently married is highly monitored so too is mobility between towns, despite the existence of road links to Zamora and Salamanca (Arguedas 1968a, 189). Migration to Cuba and Argentina is seen to have stopped as long ago as 1925 or 1930, many immigrants returning and buying up land with their fortunes (Arguedas 1968a, 190). Principally, Arguedas attributes the lack of large-scale migration and immigration in Sayago to the absence of crippling poverty due to the system of land tenure. Whilst restricting mobility in some cases, therefore, the system of land tenure prevents too much of it in others (Arguedas 1968a, 191).[53] Education, another channel for mobility and politicization, is also blocked due to the prevailing work ethos which obliges each child over the age of fourteen to work (Arguedas 1968a, 241-242). In contrast to Peru where education elevates the status of the individual, the risks of a child breaking the social mould by acquiring an education are too great in Sayago, since it is seen to be the preserve of the *señoritos* (Arguedas 1968a, 249). Lacking the usual channels

[52] Arguedas finds striking the fact that there has been no increase in population in fifty years (Arguedas 1968a, 147). Strict sexual segregation from the age of sixteen and control of population growth also reflect the prevailing work ethos whereby entry into adulthood is equated with the obligation to perform adult tasks (Arguedas 1968a, 141).

[53] In contrast to the southern *sierra* of Peru, where in twenty years, i.e. from 1940 to 1960, the population of many indigenous communities dropped by forty per cent. Arguedas cites the example of women killing their children in the department of Cuzco to avoid them from migrating in later years (Arguedas 1968a, 332). This is echoed in *YS* in the desperate measures adopted by the Paraybamba community, before their trading agreement with the *colonos* of La Providencia (pp. 42; 256).

of information due to censorship, the *vecinos'* outlook remains essentially conservative (Arguedas 1968a, 242). Although religious and political repression may be to blame for this, straightforward economic factors, a system of land tenure, are also largely accountable.

These issues reveal the need to take local spatial and temporal realities into account when examining the role of Rendón Willka in *TLS*. In fact, by presenting a case of 'reversible' *cholificación* (Arguedas 1985, 38) or incipient 'grupualización' (Quijano 1980, 63) where, as the social scientists maintained, Rendón is more *indio* than *cholo*, Arguedas presents a historicized image of the latter, the product of a particular geocultural and historical context. This historicist approach is bolstered by the overt empiricism, confirmed throughout the *Mesa redonda*, which lies at the heart of the 'testimonio'. In *TLS*, when don Fermín talks to his lawyer in Lima about the problems facing the country, he refers to the emergence of the *cholo* and differentiates between what he sees to be two types of these: the 'mestizo leído y el indio leído', that is, the *ex indio* who 'ama su comunidad', and 'el *cholo* Cisneros, que...se ha hecho gran proprietario y odia a diestra y siniestra' (p. 293). These words draw attention to the unsettling figure of the *cholo* increasingly equated with mobility and urbanity.

The very fact that Rendón has left San Pedro and spent the last eight years in Lima and Huancayo (p. 67) means that he has changed his ethnic status and is referred to constantly as *ex indio* (p. 34). This is confirmed by an adopted western dress code, Rendón's physical appearance commented on several times throughout the novel, both by other characters and by the narrator. Anto is one of the first to witness a change in physical apparel: 'El criado lo miró con asombro. Rendón estaba vestido de americana, con un traje grueso de lana azul. La camisa no estaba limpia' (p. 34). Interestingly enough, Anto's surprise, and that of others, is not shared by the Indian community who take this change for granted (p. 67), echoed by Rendón who equates this new dress code with what he believes to be the new or emergent status of the Indian community at large: 'a cualquiera hace cojudo el casimir no estando indio' (p. 51). Bearing in mind that this comes after Bellido's admission of distrust of Indians wearing 'casimir', Rendón's reply is rather pointed.

Despite his having being expelled from school (p. 61) and his Spanish being fairly rudimentary (p. 181), Rendón is literate and politicized. This is undoubtedly due to his experience of migration, referred to on numerous occasions by Gregorio (p. 96) and himself: 'yo sufriendo siete años en barriadas de Lima, comiendo basura con perros y criaturas, oyendo a políticos, yendo a la escuela' (p. 396). As Cabrejos confirms, Rendón's lack of political affiliation has not prevented him from being a persuasive political speaker: 'polemiza con desesperante aplomo y agudeza. Yo mismo casi no pude con él' (p. 335). A product of migration, therefore, Rendón is the quintessential 'cholo escéptico' who Arguedas refers to on numerous occasions in his anthropological essays,[54] but who has not yet undergone the process of 'grupualización' (Quijano 1980, 63). This makes his ideas concerning politics and religion reflect both a quasi-secular outlook stemming from education and migration, and a retention or reinvention of certain native beliefs. As Arguedas maintained in the *Mesa redonda* (Arguedas 1985, 26-27), there is no contradiction between Rendón's magical and rational conception of the world. Rather than reflecting a 'syncretic' outlook, equated with *mestizaje* which more often than not belies acculturation, Rendón's *cholificación* is typically uneven, showing a partial or selective process of transformation with different levels of urban and rural cultural penetration. As Quijano (1980, 70-71) suggests, a *cholo* may be more or less Indian or *criollo* depending on his particular geocultural situation.[55]

Due to the politicized atmosphere in San Pedro and Rendón's involvement with the Indian communities, he soon earns the epithet of 'communist', or as Llerena puts it an 'ex indio comunista adoctrinado en Lima' (p. 390), a political tag which he spends most of the novel trying to disavow. It becomes evident that his experience of migration has politicized him against the prevailing parties whom he sees as failing to understand the Indian community (p. 419). The term 'communist' has no meaning for Rendón short of being a means by which the government can incarcerate the opposition. This comes

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[54] Particularly José María Arguedas, 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 34-79 (p. 76) and José María Arguedas, 'El mestizaje en la literatura oral', *Revista Histórica* (Lima), 28 (1965), 271-275 (p. 274).

[55] Some of the points recently made by Antonio Cornejo Polar on the migrant in Arguedas' work may also be applied to Rendón. According to him, the presence of the migrant, 'un sujeto siempre desplazado' (1995, 11), defies theories on *mestizaje* and transculturation by presenting an image of multiplicity rather than syncretism or fusion (1995, 10), bringing to mind recent ideas on hybridity articulated by Néstor García Canclini (1996). The migrant, part of what Cornejo Polar, in reference to Beatriz Sarlo (1988), calls the 'modernidad periférica' (1995, 13), reveals an image of the nation viewed from its border regions.

up in a conversation he has with Hidalgo, where he denies any political affiliation to the main parties. When the soldiers come to Paraybamba to take reprisals after the punishment of Cisneros, Rendón advises David K'oto to listen to the politicians in prison but not to get involved in party politics: 'Hay que oir a los políticos. El mundo es grande. Pero no hay que seguir a los políticos; según nuestra conciencia hay que aprender lo que enseñan. Ellos son de otro modo. Nadie nos conoce' (p. 300). It becomes clear that Rendón's disassociation with the political parties originates from a belief that the latter, who operate in the cities amongst migrant workers, have no understanding of the *comunero* in the *sierra*.[56] This is confirmed when he speaks of his visit to Huancayo where '¡allí a indio no carajea nadies!' (p. 161) and where the Indian: 'Es respeto' (p. 161). Identifying with this Indian, Rendón defines himself as: 'Yo...comunero soy' (p. 161). This echoes a previous conversation with Anto when he implicitly contrasts the latter, with his deference and misplaced loyalty towards the *hacendado*, 'así es. El gran señor te patea y le quieres; si tú pateas al gran señor, el señor hijo te cuelga de la barra, hasta que tu ojo reviente en sangre' (p. 36), to the *comunero*: 'Indio sabe otro modo' (p. 36).

When Rendón equates Communism with the shanty towns of Lima and *rabia*, and the Indian of Huancayo with 'alma' and 'respeto' (p. 161), he introduces the main concepts around which his politico-religious outlook is based. It soon becomes apparent that 'alma', 'corazón', 'respeto' and 'Dios' are all linked, reflecting the interrelatedness of social, or human, and spiritual, or cosmological, planes, and are bound up with notions of integrity, authenticity and purity. 'Hombres sin alma' (Cornejo Polar 1973, 252), governed by corrupting influences such as ambition (p. 119), are thus contrasted with those with 'alma'. For the former, such as Cabrejos, who 'no es condenado. No es gente. No hay alma ni corazón en su cuerpo' (p. 181), existence is reduced to a purgatory-like experience much like that of the *almas en pena*: 'no hay descanso, padece para jamás' (p. 160). This contrasts with the *comunero* who has 'corazón' and an 'alma que pelea por bien contra mal' (p. 169), making him resistant against corruption: 'a cuerpo que está de fierro

[56] This scepticism towards political parties mirrors Arguedas' own attitude during much of this lifetime (Merino de Zela 1970, 171). Apart from a brief involvement in 1937 in a student protest against Gral. Camarotta, a representative of Mussolini, for which he was imprisoned for a year, and his apparent enthusiasm for Belaúnde, which led him to accept the post of Director of the *Casa de la Cultura* from 1963 to 1966, Arguedas' attitude towards party politics was far from unequivocal. This ambivalence forms the central dynamic of *ES*. See Rodrigo Montoya (1991a) and, for an analysis of the political ideology in *ES*, William Rowe (1979, 177-188).

no más por la ambición no entra alma, de muerto ni de vivo. En vano tragando gente' (p. 160) and death, as the Lahuaymarcas reveal in their display of strength to Matilde: 'Carne de puma tiene comunero. No se acaba' (p. 173). *Rabia* and 'alma', therefore, become organizing principles around which men are grouped (p. 318), so that when Rendón equates politicians, soldiers and even the *vecinos* of San Pedro with *rabia* (pp. 395; 419), he consciously distances himself and the *comunero* community from such people. As seen in Chapter Two, the organization of Indians into work units led by *varayoq* is designed to avert *rabia*. The latter, as Washington Delgado (1974, 10-11) explains, is a product of colonialism and prevents the Indian community from acting in accordance with its own system of values. It is associated with 'odio' and characterizes the tone of Arguedas' early stories, particularly *Agua*. By the time Arguedas writes *TLS*, the Indian community is depicted as having devised measures to surmount it.[57]

Interestingly, the images 'corazón' and 'alma' recur in the exchange of letters between Arguedas and Hugo Blanco shortly before the former's death.[58] The two images are both equated with 'piedra' and 'paloma' in Arguedas' letter and explicitly linked to Hugo Blanco, no doubt referring his leadership qualities and those of the *comunero*. The implication is that a sense of fortitude must be fostered in the face of neo-colonial adversity, but a degree of compassion in the face of the Indian community and its cosmology must also be maintained.[59] When Hugo Blanco defines Arguedas as an *indio* because he has a 'corazón' which is such, a concept of identity linked to Mariátegui's notion of 'yo profundo' (1987, 23) begins to emerge. It becomes apparent that 'corazón' and 'alma', part of the 'yo profundo', rely on qualities such as intuition or empathy to be 'authentic'.

Returning to the theme of *rabia* in *TLS*, the latter also enables Rendón to distance himself from a Christian God which in his view incites the ruling oligarchy's cruelty: 'aquí, con Él nos echan látigo' (p. 418) and, referring to Cabrejos during Gregorio's

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[57] The phrase 'que no haya rabia', which Arguedas reveals he first heard in Puquio, now becomes 'una regla de conducta' governing the action of the *ayllus* (Arguedas 1986a, 40-41).

[58] José María Arguedas, 'Correspondencia entre Hugo Blanco y José María Arguedas', *Amaru*, 11 (1969), 12-15.

[59] This double sentiment of 'odio' and 'ternura' runs through most of Arguedas' work, particularly his early stories. For an explanation by Arguedas see 'La literatura peruana', *Coral*, 13 (1970), 47-53 (p. 50). It is also embodied in some of his characters, such as doña Caytana, in *Doña Caytana*, in *Relatos completos*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1987), pp. 43-51, and, significantly, in Sybila Arredondo in Arguedas' letters to John Murra and Lola Hoffmann where, for example, she is described as 'acerada y sensible a la vez' (Murra and López-Baralt 1996, 167), in many ways making her a female counterpart to Hugo Blanco.

funeral: 'el Dios lo va a salvar al ingeniero, seguro' (p. 142). The obvious iconoclasm, reflected in references such as '¿Cual Dios será?' (p. 419); 'Dios no importa' (p. 419) and 'diosito' (p. 420), however, appear to contradict Rendón's claim at the beginning of the novel to be in alliance: 'soy servicio de Dios' (p. 121). It soon becomes evident, however, that Rendón's ability to distance himself from the Christian God in fact enables him to espouse an alternative concept of God where the latter and man are inextricably linked, each serving to bolster the other.[60] Thus, 'el quiere que no haya rabia, que no haya suciedad en el alma, gusanos en el tuétano. ¡El hombre tiene que ayudar, pues! El que está limpio' (p. 121) and 'el Dios necesita auxilio de los que no fabrican pestilencia' (p. 121). For those outside this framework these views are, if not subversive, entirely baffling.

Rendón, therefore, thinks and expresses himself through Andean metaphors and in the above cases these reflect a native belief system. On other occasions, however, he reveals having undergone a process of secularization, as the content of certain metaphors is partially transformed or replaced altogether. This can be seen in the imagery of light. In direct contrast to K'oyowasi who attributes light to a divine source, Rendón reveals his belief in man's ability to create it for himself, thus equalling or in some cases exceeding the potential of the natural world: 'dentro de la mina vivía la tiniebla, a la que era necesario no temer, rendir más bien, para tomar de esa oscura entraña lo que ella podía dar al hombre para su bienestar, para su triunfo sobre la naturaleza. ¡La luz dentro del mundo puede hacerse!' (p. 109). This has particularly important implications for the Indian community, reflecting an attitude by which they are able to surmount superstition or what Escobar in *YF* calls 'el temor mítico' (p. 134).

The light motif is taken up again by Rendón and, through a process of associative logic, or 'bricolage' effect (Lévi-Strauss 1989a, 16), is linked to don Bruno's horse, the latter now standing as a metaphor for a natural order being replaced by man: '¡Lucero!...el camión te va a enterrar ¡Caray! Lucero. Puede más que tú, y el hombre, pues lo ha hecho. El hombre, pues, está ganando' (p. 120). The suggestion is that the horse, and by extension don Bruno, belongs to a vanishing world governed by

[60] This theme is developed in *Oda al jet*, in *Katatay*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1984), pp. 28-33.

organizing principles with more power in the old order: 'El sol te prefiere, te hace grande, por gusto' (p. 120). If light can be reflected on Lucero, it can, by extension, be reflected on man: 'también la poca claridad de las estrellas se hace grande cuando tiene dónde; en el cuerpo del Lucero; en mí, en mí' (p. 121). The magical qualities of light, which enhance the stature of the horse, can, therefore, be applied to a social order, represented by man. The aim is to set man at the heart of the new cosmological-social order, making him answerable to it: 'no vamos a responder ante Pukasira, ante Crucificado; ante el hermanito ha de responder el que quiera fregar a su hermano' (p. 145). The implication is that just as the horse incarnated the magical qualities of the cosmological order, so too can the lorry, and man, which will replace it.[61] Ultimately, this forms part of a process of secularization, of attributing social causes to social conditions, which Rendón equates with prosperity and which echoes much of what Arguedas evidenced in the Mantaro region: 'el comunero, cuando aprenda que el cerro es sordo, que la nieve es agua, que el cóndor wamani muere con un tiro, entonces curará para siempre...Cuando muera el Dios del comunero no habrá ya miedo, no habrá rabia' (p. 395). The link here between a Christian God and *rabia* echoes Rendón's previous words about the former being used to support the present order. Ridding the *comunero* of this God, opens the way towards restoring a more plural belief system or replacing it altogether.

This brings to mind the revolutionary implications myth had for Mariátegui. Should the religious content of myth be lost, therefore, Arguedas, following in Mariátegui's path, seems to be suggesting that the radicalizing potential of it will not. Secularization, therefore, does not automatically lead to a loss of magic, since to a certain extent the latter is retained in the form that thought or action takes.[62] This can be seen in the case of the horse and the lorry mentioned above or, in Chapter One, in the work of the *mestizo* artisans who continue working within traditional forms, despite the content of these becoming secularized. The co-existence of Hispanic and pre-Hispanic elements creates a potent mixture for Arguedas, one, as mentioned in Chapter One, capable not

[61] Again, this can be seen in *Oda al jet*, where the fusion of indigenous outlooks, or magic, and western technology, rationality, is reflected in descriptions of the aeroplane as 'pez celeste' (p. 31) and 'movido por la respiración de los dioses' (p. 33).

[62] According to Rowe (1979, 182), the apparent contradictions between the religious, mythical or magical and the secular dissolve in a framework of millenarian thought.

only of sustaining but reinvigorating indigenous elements: 'Estamos mezclados hasta la raíz; lo hispánico penetró hasta lo más profundo, sin destruir lo indígena, sin convertir la médula de lo indígena, pero comprometiéndolo, revolucionándolo.'[63] For Mariátegui, the same is true of myth. The latter's content may now be secular, but the fact that it is capable of stirring a whole generation suggests its radical 'spiritual' dimensions are intact: 'Los motivos religiosos se han desplazado del cielo a la tierra. No son divinos; son humanos, son sociales' (1987, 27).[64]

As the reader soon discovers, Rendón's position is marked by ambiguity and elusiveness at every turn. This not only reflects the ambiguous nature of socio-cultural relations in the area but becomes a useful political strategy, since by avoiding social categorization, Rendón is able to avert direct confrontation leading either to co-option or defeat. This draws attention to the way in which Rendón operates, the latter becoming as important as what he says or fails to say. Evasion or what Arguedas calls 'disimulo',[65] becomes as much a vocal as a physical measure.[66] One encounter early on in the novel reveals just how Rendón's equivocal answers diffuse open contestation and disconcert the interlocutor. To El Gálico's question: 'eras indio?', Rendón replies: 'así es pues, creo, señor' and 'no sé señor' (p. 57) and then: 'ahistá la carretera, señor. Los comuneros lo hemos abierto' (p. 57). Realizing at last where Rendón's allegiances lie, El Gálico is able to retort with vehemence: 'por allí van los indios piojos a la costa, y vuelven más grandes, como tú, pero siempre piojos' (p. 57).

From the very start, therefore, Rendón's conduct is circumspect. During the *cabildo* of *vecinos* and *varayoq*, he adopts a distanced position in the proceedings: 'observaba el consejo desde el extremo del corredor' (p. 56). This is repeated during don Andrés' funeral: 'allí midió, uno a uno, a los vecinos, los sintió y pesó' (p. 67). Despite witnessing that the *vecinos* have become divided and have grown poorer during his absence, he is able to hide his feelings and continue playing a subservient role: 'se

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[63] José María Arguedas, 'Paris y la patria', *El Comercio*, 7 December 1958, p. 2.

[64] Flores Galindo (1994, 272) reveals Mariátegui's recognition that the *indigenistas* could have provided the link between Marxism and an Andean nationalism, were it not for the fact that many later fell prey to APRA.

[65] 'No soy un aculturado...' (words of José María Arguedas on receiving the Prize "Inca Garcilaso de la Vega", Lima, October 1968), *Cultura y Pueblo*, 15/16 (1969), 3; repr. in *EZ*, pp. 256-258, (p. 256).

[66] As in the Andean practice of exchanging insults, this almost acquires ritual dimensions and forms part of an exercise in negotiating relations of power. See José María Arguedas, 'Breves selecciones de "insultos" quechuas', in *Señores e indios. Acerca de la cultura quechua*, ed. by Angel Rama (Buenos Aires: Calicanto Editorial, 1976), pp. 157-161.

mostró respectuoso' and 'salió feliz...aunque su rostro no expresaba sino obsecuencia y afflicción' (p. 68). The ability for concealment is compounded by his evasiveness in dialogue. This is achieved by playing up the language barrier avoiding, for example, answering Matilde directly about Gregorio, claiming not to understand Spanish well (p. 168), and asking questions instead of answering them, as he does with Cabrejos (p. 84), Llerena (p. 392) and Hidalgo (p. 419) when asked where his political allegiances lie. As Camargo points out, Rendón's reticence has important political implications: 'mueve a la gente hablando poco' (p. 167). The disconcerting effect this has on the authorities is highlighted by the Juez: 'de Rendón Willka no sabemos nada seguro...Contesta a todas las preguntas correctamente, pero deja a todos intranquilos' (p. 382).

Rendón's elusiveness means that his reputation precedes him. The general consensus that he is 'in the know', originating from Rendón's tactic of stating in a factual manner without proffering an explanation, both serves to disconcert the opposition and reassure his followers. For example, he is able to diffuse conflict in the mine between the workers, claiming to know that don Bruno will withdraw the *colonos* as soon as they have reached the 'veta' (p. 104) and he is able to reassure Bellido who is disconcerted by the *colonos* who weep at doña Rosario's funeral: 'Rendón verá y hará' (p. 227). Rendón's knowledge of events seems to precede their official notification, pointing to the establishment of alternative lines of communication: during one of the *cabildos*, Anto and don Felipe Maywa say Rendón 'knows' of the government's decision to expropriate La Esmeralda (p. 362) and at the close of the novel, the 'comuneros' of the *haciendas* seem to 'know' of the soldier's arrival: 'en haciendas saben' (p. 432).

These alternative communication links form part of a network which Rendón has built up but which takes place off-stage. This means that the reader, alongside the characters of the novel, must rely on hearsay for any information about Rendón's political manoeuvrings. An aura of clandestinity thus shrouds the proceedings: Rendón holds secret meetings with the workers in the mine (pp. 104; 165) and as the Juez and don Fermín confirm, he has contacts over a wide area: 'de algún modo parece que tiene adeptos hasta en la hacienda lejana del cruel don Lucas. Tiene hilos de araña en todas partes' (p. 382); 'creo que tiene una gran red secreta de comunicaciones con pueblos y haciendas' (p. 423). Rendón's popularity is witnessed by the Sacristan and don Fermín

who reveal how Indians come from all parts to Lahuaymarca (p. 412) and La Esperanza (p. 423) to see him. This serves to enhance his stature, not only amongst the Indian community but amongst his challengers, as Hidalgo points out: 'dicen que usted es cabeza de todos los indios de este distrito, que es grande y con muchas haciendas, y la mina' (p. 418). Rendón's evasiveness leads Camargo to warn Cabrejos against attempting to entrap him: 'a Rendón nadies lo agarra. El va como libre...parece tiene algo de brujo' (p. 167).

The ability to exert a powerful influence over the Indian community and elude his adversaries may appear unexplained and may make Rendón seem a 'brujo', but can in fact be accounted for by a series of strategic alliances he builds with key figures in the novel. In the very first chapter Rendón tells Anto of his aim to collaborate with don Fermín: 'a él voy a seguir, con él voy a ir. Lo voy a templar, pues; él va a templar al pueblo' (p. 35). This idea of colluding with the *gamonales* may make him enemies, Perico accuses him of disloyalty (pp. 49; 52), but it reveals a tactical plan to work within the prevailing socio-economic framework, dominated by the *hacienda*, in order to undermine or restructure it from within.[67] Although both Matilde and Cabrejos suspect Rendón of duplicity in his dealings with don Fermín and later don Bruno, they are unable to prove it. Their disquiet over Rendón is manifested in their inability to categorize him and consequently his political leanings. Matilde, who tries to warn Fermín against him (p. 101), finds Rendón too calculating to be an 'indio': '¿es Rendón, de veras? ¿Es un indio? Demasiado galante y demasiado sabio' (p. 101), whilst Cabrejos, who tries to bribe Rendón to prevent the Indians from reaching the mine seam, oscillates between believing he can manipulate him, seeing him as a 'cholo confuso' (p. 85), and doubt as to whether this is possible, since Rendón appears to represent something altogether different, neither Indian nor 'cholo': 'Pero el Rendón es algo nuevo; es otra cosa. No sabemos qué quiere. Creo que engaña bien a unos y a otros; demasiado bien para ser cholo' (p. 130). Camargo perhaps comes closest to explaining Rendón's position, referring to the latter's ethnic status as a reason for his independence of political parties:

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[67] This would suggest that Rendón's actions are more 'reformist' than 'revolutionary', since, according at least to Kapsoli (1977), they do not radically question the prevailing structures of power. Some Marxist readings of Arguedas, such as those by Alejandro Losada (1976), Silverio Muñoz (1987) and Miguel Gutiérrez (1980), the latter claiming that *ILS* is pro-oligarchical since it is in favour of a system of 'socialismo feudal' (p. 176), concur with this. For an undiluted Marxist-Leninist critique of *ILS*, see Saúl Dominguez Agüero (1976).

'¿Es cholo? Más me parece comunero con entendimiento. Creo que ése no se ha dejado manejar por los politiqueros' (p. 130).

The 'contract' Rendón has with don Fermín seems to be of mutual benefit. Don Fermín, regarding Rendón as a typical *cholo* with social ambitions, is prepared to stimulate these as a means of manipulating him: 'es un cholo vivo. Le encenderemos algo más la mecha de la ambición y será el mejor instrumento en mis manos' (p. 80). Offering him the position of 'capataz' in his mine (p. 35), he hopes in exchange to make don Bruno's *colonos* work for him (p. 46). The influence Rendón has over Fermín is manifested in the latter's equating of 'patria' with 'alma' and his subsequent self-conscious distancing from characters such as Cabrejos: 'ustedes los químicamente puros...han sido definidos por Rendón: arrojaron su alma' (p. 163). It is around this figure of Cabrejos, representing the multinationals and the forces of imperialist capitalism, that Rendón and don Fermín are able to build a truce, however unsteady, enabling each other to counteract Cabrejos' machinations (pp. 141; 236), as well as a system of colonial capitalism based on the large estate, represented by don Bruno.

Rendón's alliance with don Bruno is more ambiguous and points to the way in which the former, by adhering to the notion of *patrón*, is able to operate within a framework of semi-feudal relations in order to build up the Indian *ayllus* and eventually make some attempt at restructuring the land tenure system. Don Bruno, at first opposed to Rendón, regarding him as a 'cholo renegado' (p. 116) and warning him not to come near his *hacienda*, is won over by his apparent obedience, when he discovers that he has kept the workers and *colonos* separate as instructed (p. 109), and adherence to a feudal Catholic notion of a *patrón* who answers to God on behalf of the Indians (p. 119). In an extraordinary scene of mutual empathy, Rendón kneels before don Bruno to receive the latter's 'blessing' (p. 305), pledging himself to him. Don Bruno, aware of Rendón's influence over the Indian community, attributes this to God (p. 430). Won over, he entrusts his *colonos* to Rendón, puts him in charge of Carhuamayo (p. 182), instructs him to carry the cross during doña Rosario's burial, referring to him as 'el jefe' (p. 216), and finally puts him in charge of La Providencia until his son grows up (p. 234). In the latter instance, he encourages Rendón to continue his education, thus contributing to his process of *cholificación*: 'La Providencia y sus colonos dependen de tu inteligencia, de tu

astucia para el bien. Entra a mi biblioteca. Lee de noche, tranquilo' (p. 304). More importantly, however, the patronage which don Bruno bestows upon Rendón enables the latter either to justify his actions through the official titles he is ascribed with: 'yo, administrador de Providencia, albacea de niño Alberto Federico, cabeza de indios' (p. 419), or to avoid accountability altogether, don Bruno assuming it instead. This is seen, for example, when the latter tells Llerena that Rendón, as his administrator, merely acts on his orders: 'es parte de mi alma y de mi cuerpo...No es responsable. Obedece mis órdenes' (p. 391). Contrary to the critics at the *Mesa redonda* who saw Rendón and don Bruno's alliance as paradoxical, or anachronistic, Arguedas maintained that the two complemented each other in a dialectical fashion (Arguedas 1985, 29). So far this can be confirmed by the evidence of the pact's mutual benefit for the two. The fact that don Bruno meets an untimely end, seems to suggest, however, that it may ultimately have been of more benefit to one than to the other.

b. The Archetypalizing Discourse

Throughout the *Mesa redonda* on *TLS*, Aníbal Quijano, whose work on the *cholo* was implicitly being contrasted with Arguedas' novel, kept a guarded silence and when asked to give his opinion at the end of the debate, came out in favour of the other social scientists. Like Favre, Quijano accused Arguedas of placing too much emphasis on *casta* (Arguedas 1985, 57) and of putting forward an *indigenista* solution to the problem of the peasantry (Arguedas 1985, 59). This, he maintained, was not only unconvincing in the novel, because Rendón's integration in the Indian community was not conscious or total, but unconvincing in reality because, according to his own research, only exceptionally were there Indian leaders of the peasant movement (Arguedas 1985, 60). Evidently, what Quijano and the others were failing to see was the deliberately equivocal nature of the novel's system of nomenclature and its denouement. Arguedas, all too aware of the unrealistic implications of giving an *indigenista* solution to the country's problems, chose a *cholo* to represent the Indian community and preside over the novel. This, and the outcome of the work, like that of its precursor *YF*, reveal a desire to depict the native community responding to the processes of modernization, in dynamic articulation with

other socio-cultural groups and being transformed through contact with these groups. As seen in Chapter One, this suggests that a different set of evaluative criteria, such as those based on ethnic, that is, non-race and non-class specific markers, is now required for the Indian community, since its internal heterogeneity will no longer allow any other, particularly *indigenista*, readings. Having a *cholo* incarnate what is essentially a radically modified native community, highlights Arguedas' aim to challenge the etymological and semantic bases of this group.[68]

Ultimately, however, the arguments about whether Arguedas' protagonists are 'Indian' or not and what the final message of the novel may be, reveal the all too dogmatic outlook of the social scientists and their inability to accept ambiguity, simultaneity or flux. Arguedas' novel stands as a testament to the difficulty or indeed inability of situating people and phenomena in clear-cut temporal and spatial frameworks. By presenting a non-linear pattern of interconnections, or 'dialogism', as characters respond to local and non-local, or national, processes, any contradictions or overlaps become deliberate, designed to reflect a plural society, as Arguedas himself confirms: 'la gran ambición del libro fue, precisamente, mostrar esa multiplicidad de concepciones, según los grados de aproximación de un mundo en furor' (Arguedas 1985, 27). Rendón's nomenclative ambiguity, his ethnic status as an *ex indio* or *cholo*, in many ways reveals Arguedas' aim to present the reader with a composite image of Andean historical experience, since Rendón can be seen to represent a continuum between past and present.[69] This 'synthesis' or 'totality', as seen in previous chapters, requires author and reader to take both a short and long-view of historical development or, as Braudel (1980) would maintain, of situating the short-view within the long-view. Such an approach, where 'historicist' and 'archetypalizing' discourses, or 'chronotopes' (Bakhtin 1994), interlock with one another, ultimately yields a variegated or kaleidoscopic view of Andean temporality.[70]

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[68] The idea, as Arguedas has continually emphasized, is not to present an image of a modern Andean society breaking with the past, but one which emerges from it: 'la comunidad puede servir de base para una comunidad nueva' (Arguedas 1985, 48).

[69] Escobar says this at the beginning of the debate, claiming that the novel presents 'una imagen total del Perú' (Arguedas 1985, 18), relying on non-scientific epistemological criteria such as intuition. This reiterates his remarks at the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* (Arguedas 1986a), explored in Chapter One.

[70] The social scientists attacked Arguedas precisely for this 'inaccuracy' with regards to historical time. See Favre (Arguedas 1985, 37), Bravo Bresani (Arguedas 1985, 42) and Quijano's (Arguedas 1985, 56) comments. Arguedas' approach obviously did not concur with their image of history leading to social change and 'modernity', or 'progress'.

In recent years Flores Galindo (1978; 1994) has come closest to applying this method to historiography in Peru, situating the phenomenon of land invasions, for example, within a spatial and temporal continuum of the southern Andes from the early colonial era and *Taqui Ongoy* to the present day, where millenarian tones continue to echo in the context of *Senderismo*.[71] Combining synchronic and diachronic perspectives of historical development has also been the task of the French historian Serge Gruzinski (1989) in his analysis of Mexican colonial society. Linking history to anthropology, Gruzinski's approach is avowedly ethnohistorical, concerned with the history or histories of subaltern groups: 'this history -whatever it is called- explores the way in which marginal or major sectors of a population conceive the world and the environment and go about living' (1989, 3). By taking a microanalytical or case-study approach to popular leaders in colonial Mexico, for example, Gruzinski hopes to advance the study of history based on archival sources such as eyewitness accounts and judicial reports. This 'testimonial' technique calls to mind the recent work of Martin Lienhard (1992b) which unveils an autochthonous discourse, or what Lienhard calls 'una textualidad indígena' (1992b, xii), through an analysis of colonial chronicles, epistles and legal claims to land. By tracing the persistence over time of particular mind-sets and memories, Lienhard is able to reveal their contribution to a language of resistance. This consolidates what he calls a 'visión histórica' (1992b, xxxiv), similar to Cornejo Polar's notion of 'conciencia histórica' (1973, 243), in the native community and links up with Flores Galindo's (1994) concept of an Andean Utopia in its appeals to an Inca past.[72]

Gruzinski also follows in this line by analysing the structures of power in pre- and post-Hispanic Nahua culture. Arguing that the latter's view of history was infused with myth, he makes a case for its rulers following a line of 'totalities' or an 'archetype' (1989, 21). In this way, potentates were ascribed with divine qualities and a continuity of power was established. This echoes Rosalind Gow's assertion that indigenous leadership in the Andes has been based on a series of self-perpetuating military 'ranks' such as 'Willka' (1982, 198). Whether in the Mexican highlands or the Peruvian *sierra*, therefore,

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[71] Montoya (1992) and more recently Portocarrero (1993) have also taken a more hybrid approach in the analysis of social realities in Peru.

[72] As William Rowe (1995, 73) contends, the documents become 'archives of native historical vision', revealing the nuances of power relations and, more specifically, native ways of coping with domination.

the boundaries between a mythical Quetzalcoatl or a 'real life' Zapata, between a Pachacuti, a Túpac Amaru or an Hugo Blanco, begin to dissolve as a diachronic framework places each in a temporal continuum and blurs the margins between history and myth. As Gruzinski asserts, in such a context power becomes 'a ceremonial structure, a ritual mechanism fixed in the density of symbolism' (1989, 175).[73]

It is not until *TLS* that Arguedas fully experiments with this idea, creating a character who, as a specific leader of the indigenous community, also functions at a paradigmatic level as an archetype of native leadership. Prior to this, particularly in *YF*, Arguedas negotiates the necessary conditions for the emergence of such a leader through what one could call an incipient process of *cholificación*. Here, ethnic affiliations and identities are primarily debated on collective basis. *YF's cholos*, like its Indians and Quechuanized *vecinos*, are for the most part collective protagonists.[74] By the time Arguedas writes *TLS*, however, the conditions in the *sierra* are such that particular *cholos* may now assume a leadership role.[75] Unlike don Pancho or Escobar in *YF*, Rendón can command the Indian *ayllus* because, as will be seen, he is fully integrated in their structures of power through the *varayoq* system. Also, contrary to Escobar but in line with Mariátegui, he is conscious of the revolutionary implications of action inspired by myth or mythical notions of the past, such as the Andean Utopia (Flores Galindo 1994). The ability to operate within indigenous socio-political and mythical frameworks comes from Rendón's origin in the *ayllu*, therefore, but his recognition of its worth comes from his experience of migration. Disillusioned with party politics in the capital, he turns to alternative concepts of governing based on autochthonous models. Tapping into an indigenous politico-religious discourse of power, he is able to win popular support and build up resistance to adversarial forces. The implication is that just like his predecessor "Honrao" Rojas, glimpsed only at the end of *YF*, he is able both to represent and lead the Indian community because he is wholly immersed in its system of organization.

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[73] According to Gruzinski (1989, 21), this means that there are no distinctions between 'signifier' and 'signified', or 'object' and 'representation'. Men may incarnate the divine and vice versa, because the spatial and temporal boundaries between history and myth, or reality and symbol, have collapsed.

[74] This is in line with the definition made by Arguedas of the novel, and his own, in Peru at the time: 'En los pueblos serranos, el romance, la novela de los individuos, queda borrada, enterrada, por el drama de las clases sociales', José María Arguedas, 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', *Mar del Sur* (Lima), 9 (1950), 66-72 (repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (p. 166).

[75] After the official recognition of many *ayllus* in the 1930s and 1940s, boundary disputes and land were once again on the political agenda, as in the 1920s.

Arguedas' concern for native structures of government and his admiration for indigenous figures of justice can be traced back to earlier anthropological work, particularly his doctoral thesis. In many ways, therefore, the latter can be seen as a preliminary exploration of a model later worked into *TLS*. The *alcaldes* of Sayago and the *varayoq* of Puquio become a paradigm of autochthonous leadership mirrored in his novel. Arguedas correlates Sayago's past *alcalde* system, where members of the *ayuntamiento* were respected more than present-day officials,[76] with that of contemporary Andean *ayllus*. Equating Sayago's past with an Andean present thus enables Arguedas to attribute the idealized values of one, acquired by the passage of time and by association with the southern Andes, to the latter. Although he distinguishes between two periods in the history of the *varayoq* system in Peru, those before and after the 1942 watershed and the official recognition of the *ayllus*, Arguedas' enthusiasm on both accounts is clearly manifested. He explains how, by adapting their own colonial *alcalde* system and by protecting certain rights of the *varayoq*, such as power over the distribution of water, the colonial authorities converted them into a buffer between land hungry *vecinos* and vulnerable Indian communities, thus helping to diffuse conflict (Arguedas 1968a, 334; 335).

First and foremost, however, the *varayoq* system reflects for Arguedas the Indian community's capacity for self-defence through selective appropriation and recreation. The adaptation of the Spanish colonial *alcalde* system is manifested, for example, in its members' attire: 'se visten con trajes ceremoniales de modelo hispánico puro, aunque el indio ha recreado las formas de esos trajes y ha convertido las varas en insignias ostentosamente ornamentadas' (Arguedas 1968a, 333). It is the physical presence of these *varayoq* that captures the imagination of Arguedas, their elaborate costumes and their position at the altar during Sunday mass conferring on them an aura of dignity and solemnity altogether lacking in the present-day *alcaldes* of Sayago (Arguedas 1968a, 201-202). The procession to the squares of their communities, where communal work duties (Arguedas 1968a, 202) and water rights (Arguedas 1968a, 20) are announced, also takes

[76] The traditional *alcalde* system in Sayago was replaced by a more autocratic regime in the wake of the Civil War, mayors appointed by the local governor rather than freely elected by the people. The *alcalde* also doubled up as the Chief of the Falange and was responsible for ensuring weekly attendance at mass and the dissolution of communal work ties regarded as politically threatening (Arguedas 1968a, 214).

place in a ceremonial manner. It is in fact this ritual dimension that comes to survive the changes brought about by the 1942 recognition of the *ayllus* and the replacement of the Indian mayors by *mestizo personeros* (Arguedas 1968a, 22). Certain practices from colonial times, such as that of presiding over mass at the front of the altar, above the *vecinos*, and over the distribution of water (Arguedas 1968a, 22), endure despite the powers of decision-making having been removed.

For Arguedas, the remaining *varayoq* forms continue to exert a powerful symbolic influence, regardless of the fact that their political content may have been modified by changing times. Like the work of the *mestizo* artisans since the colonial era, the *varayoq* attest to the capacity for cultural survival through the re-elaboration of traditional forms. Their political powers may have been eroded in the growing secular climate of Puquio, but their symbolic role and ritual mode of conduct persist and may even have increased. The implication is that they continue, for example, to be associated with the *wamanis* or mountain spirits, their hierarchical organization reflecting that of the latter (Earls 1969, 68-69). As representatives of the mountains, they are also their intermediaries, liaising between social and cosmological planes. In a sense, this function is mirrored by that of the *pongo* or *wamani* priest who, interceding with the mountain spirits on behalf of the Indian community like the *varayoq*, also acts as an intermediary or 'buffer' (Arguedas 1968a, 106). The association between the *pongo* and the *wamanis* is revealed in an anecdote in Arguedas' study of religion in Puquio about a sceptical governor's encounter with mountain spirits in the form of birds and his witnessing of a cure by them through a local *pongo*.[77] The *pongo's* ability to cure illness, find stolen cattle or protect the *ayllu* in the face of *wamani* and *vecino* threats reflects, as Rosalind Gow (1982, 216) has pointed out, his politico-religious role as healer-leader. This can be seen in the case of Rendón, but it can also be witnessed in an earlier work, *La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti*,[78] which explores the connection between shamanistic ritual and the revival or restoration of a past order through native *huacas*.[79]

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[77] José María Arguedas, 'Puquio, una cultura en proceso de cambio', repr. in *Formación de una cultura nacional indoamericana*, ed. by Angel Rama (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1975), pp. 34-79 (pp. 47; 48). A direct reference to this is made by Taussig (1991, 239-240). The episode also recalls Arguedas' description of his father's beliefs in faith healing at the *Mesa redonda* on *ILS* (Arguedas 1985, 28).

[78] José María Arguedas, 'La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti', in *Relatos completos*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1987), pp. 183-189.

[79] Indigenous concepts of justice based on *pachacuti* and revolution also form the basis of *El sueño del pongo*, in *Relatos completos*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1987), pp. 229-237.

By the time he goes to Lima, after the first sowing of new terraces, Rendón Willka has already found a footing in the native organization of power, having held two minor *cargos* and having been a fifth *regidor* in his *ayllu* of Lahuaymarca. These posts, like that of *kollana*, involve directing communal *faena* and *mita* work tasks both inside and outside his community: 'era el mozo que dirigía los trabajos comunales de la juventud, tanto en Lahuaymarca como en los que debían cumplir, por fuerza, en la villa de los señores' (p. 61). On his return from Lima, he ascends to the rank of *varayoq* and travels to the capital of the province, with its six *ayllus*, and to Paraybamba to make himself known to the local *varayoq*. The implication throughout is that from an early age and as the son of a *varayoq*, his public role has been pre-ordained. This is confirmed when one learns that whilst in Lima he was supported by his *ayllu*. (p. 96). With the post of *varayoq* on his return, Rendón Willka continues to direct work parties and it is through this channel that his leadership role in the novel evolves.

Offered the post of foreman in don Fermín's mine (p. 35), directing the three hundred *colonos* sent by don Bruno and the 'tres dieces de mozos' from his own community, Rendón sets about organizing the work-force into groups led by *peones* or mine workers (p. 100). Don Bruno, won over by Rendón's apparent obedience, ultimately consents to this, so that before long, Rendón has Indians from La Providencia, Lahuaymarca and Paraybamba all working in *mita* under him (p. 122). His position strengthened by this, Rendón is able to impose his conditions on don Fermín, starting with an official recognition of his status as a *varayoq*: 'él no había aceptado el cargo de jefe de guardia ni de capitán de mina de los indios, sino de capataz varayok' (p. 100). This position of leadership, his becoming, as Cabrejos discerns with some trepidation, 'un buen general de indios' (p. 108), enhances Rendón's stature, making him acquire symbolic resonance in the popular imagination. This is manifested in the imposing standing he commands in his *varayoq* attire and his holding of the *vara*, or staff, which catches the dying light of the evening, as don Bruno reveals: 'Rendón permaneció en la puerta, de espaldas a la luz. El sol se acercaba ya a las cumbres del otro lado del río grande. El hacendado empezó a mirar el rostro y todo el cuerpo del capataz. Vio la cruz reluciente de la vara, los zapatos toscos, de hechura indígena' (p. 118). This sense of authority, symbolically incarnated in the *vara*, makes him appear 'rígido y sereno' (p.

119), giving him a resoluteness which diminishes the figure of don Fermín at his side (p. 138). The iconic presence of Rendón in this scene and the play of light and shadow on him, calls to mind José Sabogal's pictoral themes and techniques.[80] It also evokes the presence of the two Indian mayors Victo Pusa and don Felipe Maywa, at Arguedas' side until the end, as his letter to Hugo Blanco reveals.[81] Rendón's choice of this 'uniform' over that of the miners (p. 81) confirms both his awareness of the symbolic impact it will have over others and his desire to operate within an indigenous framework of power. The politico-religious implications of this role are corroborated by Matilde who makes the connection between the *varayoq* and the *apus* which preside over human affairs: 'pareció advertir un sútil y clarísimo asomo de majestad. "Es como una montaña"' (p. 119).[82]

Rendón's success in making the Indians work is due to his leadership qualities but it may also be attributed to his ability to persuade the mineworkers to regard what is essentially an enforced *mita* as a *faena*, undertaken on a voluntary basis. This means that the Indians work together in a competitive yet collective spirit, as don Fermín enthusiastically reveals: 'trabajarán en competencia...a un ritmo endemoniado...De ese modo un campo de trigo que se siega con 30 peones en seis días, 30 comuneros lo cortan en dos, hasta en un día' (p. 106). The work is accompanied by singing and the sound of 'caracoles' or 'pututos' which, as well as giving it ritual dimensions (pp. 106; 291), also strengthens a sense of indigenous ethnic identity with roots in a pre-Columbian temporal framework: 'por la boca del socavón salía el canto unimelódico grande, que durante siglos abría todas las ceremonias en la región inca' (p. 105).[83] Importantly for Rendón, however, the work serves to validate the *faena* and his own role as a *varayoq* in a contemporary and non-agricultural context. This has significant ideological repercussions since it enables him to create a work ethos to counteract an incipient form of neo-liberalism which he equates with ambition, exploitation and corruption. Work,

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[80] Particularly the portrait of a *varayoq* painted in 1925 before the official recognition of the *ayllus* in the 1940s (see 'Varayoc' or 'El alcalde indio de Chincheros' (1925), in the Pinacoteca Municipal Ignacio Merino, Lima). Sabogal was greatly admired by both Arguedas (1956) and Mariátegui, the latter describing his work as conveying the necessary 'humus histórico' (1973, 139) for the creation of an autochthonous artistic tradition. In many ways, Sabogal's *indigenista* themes link up with Flores Galindo's (1994) notion of the Andean Utopia. Additionally, the play of light and shadow on Rendón here parallels that on *la kurku* (p. 53) and its associations with the notion of *pachacuti*, explored in the next chapter.

[81] Op. cit., 14.

[82] For more on the links between *varayoq* and *apus* or *wamanis* see Earls (1969, 66-69).

[83] The accompaniment of work with music can be compared to many land occupations which, as Hobsbawm (1974, 127) has shown, were also conducted in ritual mode to the sound of horns and drums.

conducted in *faena* mode, legitimates earning 'plata' and fosters a notion of 'patria' by bolstering the 'alma' and 'corazón' (pp. 86; 396). This contributes to a discourse of resistance as Rendón tells don Antenor: 'yo no voy morir. En mi tierra estoy; en mi tierra ha salido el metal' (p. 279), which has nationalistic overtones, as he reveals to don Fermín: 'ahí está metal, patrón. Nosotros estamos enteros, para la patria; para Wisther no habrá ánimo' (p. 279).

'Alma' and 'corazón' (p. 160), as mentioned previously, are equated with a Mariátegui-inspired notion of a 'yo profundo' (1987, 23), although now this is extended to the whole body politic. Significantly, this outlook reflects an Andean nationalism based on Utopian beliefs, rather than a Hispanist or *criollo* perspective influenced by foreign models. In many ways, this echoes Hugo Blanco's description, after Arguedas' death, of a specifically Indian revolution inspired by native symbols: 'El huayno, la quena, el quechua, el poncho, las leyendas, las costumbres; al mostrarse con orgullo, ya combaten, ya son el grito de guerra' (1976, 22).

If work, conducted in *faena* mode, restores a sense of personal and collective identity, or nationalism, and contributes to a language of resistance, this can be seen in the novel in the Indians' ability to overcome fear or religious fatality in the mine. When Gregorio imitates the sound of the *amaru* in an attempt to frighten the Indians and slow down production, the latter are encouraged to resist panic and heighten their work rhythm (p. 139), confirming what Coello had said of them: 'no hablan sino de no tener miedo, de trabajar mejor; de vencer la oscuridad; de no atemorizarse si alguien muere con los explosivos' (p. 111). Importantly for Rendón, this wins the admiration of the other workers in the mine (p. 110) and creates a work ethic amongst the other workers which serves to unite Indians and workers, an alliance necessary if Wisther is to be defeated (p. 279). It also overturns the Aprista and Communist workers' plan to use the Indians to fight their own revolution (p. 110).

Working in the mine in *faena* mode is extended to working the land which, as seen in the previous chapter, becomes a means of staking a claim over and defending that land. The connection between working and defending the land is made once again by Hugo Blanco. His second letter to Arguedas makes use of agricultural imagery such

as 'era del trigo', 'semilla' and 'raíz'[84] to evoke an Indian ethnic identity rooted in a native soil and its defence. This echoes his first letter where he describes the men, 'maqtas emponchados', who followed him into Cuzco as: 'esos que no saben leer, que no saben escribir, pero que sí saben luchar y saben trabajar.'[85] In *TLS*, this can be seen specifically in the case of La Esperanza which the *comuneros* of Lahuaymarca take over in the face of the fleeing *vecinos*. Needless to say, this work is orderly and carried out 'por turnos' (p. 398), illustrated by Rendón's contingent of *kollanas* visiting neighbouring *haciendas* and *ayllus* and organizing the labour force in them. This is paralleled at the end of the novel when an Indian from don Lucas' *hacienda* reveals that his captive *ayllu* will sow and harvest the land directly under Rendón's guidance: 'don Demetrio nos ha enseñado, sus k'ollanas también' (p. 439). It becomes implicit that this type of work establishes a means of avoiding *rabia*, as the Sacristan suggests to a visiting priest when he describes Rendón as: 'tranquilo, sudando, sus k'ollanas sudando' (p. 412).[86]

Acquiring and working the land through the *faena* which avoids *rabia* or, as Washington Delgado (1974, 10-11) has pointed out, the fragmentary effect of oppression and violence, is directly linked to a reinstatement of indigenous authority and justice. This means that Rendón acquires the title of 'cabecilla albacea', rejecting that of 'patrón' (p. 448), representing a colonial political and economic system, and immediately holds a 'cabildo grande' (p. 448) in order to assign work tasks and bring the former vecinos of Paraybamba to justice (pp. 449; 452).[87] The position of Rendón within this frame is so assured that he is able both to exert authority and to maintain his composure in the face of his adversary in La Providencia, Carhuamayo (p. 449). In a scene which echoes the denouement of *El sueño del pongo*, he orders Saturco, don Bruno's *pongo*, to lock up Carhuamayo's ally Coello (p. 449). Rendón's words during the first *cabildo* of La Providencia after the departure of don Bruno, are crucial to understanding the relationship between working the land and defending it. To begin with, Rendón 'frees up' the land by dismantling prior semantic divisions between land belonging to the

[84] Op. cit., 15.
[85] Ibid., 13.
[86] This is a direct echo of Rendón's own words at the beginning of the novel when he describes the work in the mine (p. 119).
[87] In many ways this is a reminder of Rendón's earlier words to Cabrejos when asked if he governs the Indians of Lahuaymarca: 'A indios de Lahuaymarca manda cabildo' (p. 84).

patrón and land belonging to the *colono*. In the new *hacienda*, the plots of land become indistinct from each other, thus may be owned by one and all (p. 449). The way this land is to be worked, however, is markedly hierarchical or controlled by a system of indigenous authorities: 'Ya cada uno sabe adónde debe ir, quién es su jefe. De cada diez, uno es el jefe' (p. 449).

To a large extent, the overarching *hacienda-patrón* framework continues to hold sway, therefore, the indigenous work units merely reinstated within its parameters. This emphasizes Rendón's strategic aim to restructure the land tenure system by operating within its traditional, that is, colonial, parameters in order to transform it from within. It also serves to diffuse opposition by acquiring an aura of legitimacy, as can be seen when the troops storm La Providencia at the end of the novel and find Rendón defining himself as: 'legítimo administrador' (p. 453), revealing his 'documentos' as ocular proof (p. 453) and declaring allegiance to his patrones: 'Indios de hacienda queremos a nuestros patrones de Providencia' (p. 453). The fact that the latter are absentee merely plays into his hands, sanctioning his having delegated work on the land as an 'administrador' (p. 453). Operating within the *hacienda* framework, organizing the work-force and assigning tasks, Rendón appears to be fulfilling his customary duties. The subversive political and cultural implications of this are thus concealed, whilst the connection between a specifically Indian revolution and the struggle for land, as Hugo Blanco (1976) reveals, is strengthened.

Rendón, therefore, carries out his double role as *varayoq* in his *ayllu* and 'administrador' (p. 453) in the *hacienda* of La Providencia. Although it becomes evident that these roles have been resemanticized, acquiring new dimensions in a contemporary context, they convey a continued sense of authority and leadership. Through a process of association with images equated with indigenous sources of power, they begin to acquire symbolic resonance. The *varayoq*, for example, as seen previously, becomes a quasi-messianic figure, aided and abetted by cosmological or *wamani* forces.[88] In *TLS*, this is perceived by all who come into contact with Rendón and particularly by those

[88] This can be seen in Arguedas' description of Victo Pusa and don Felipe Maywa in his letter to Hugo Blanco (op. cit., 14). The implicit association between *varayoq*, mountains and the revolutionary fighter, meanwhile, is evoked in Arguedas' appeal to Hugo Blanco at the end of the letter: 'oye, hombre peruano, fuerte como nuestras montañas donde la nieve no se derrite, a quien la cárcel fortalece como a piedra y como a paloma' (op. cit., 14).

who try to defy him. Rendón, for example, reminds Cabrejos, who tries to bribe him, of the *apus*: 'A ese indio las montañas lo ayudan. No cabe duda. Crece mientras habla' (p. 86), later echoed by Matilde, as seen. The enhancement of Rendón's stature through association with these symbols of indigenous justice causes obvious unease in his interlocutors, such as Velazco: 'Rendón fue como aumentando de volumen ante Velazco. Y el menosprecio casi imperceptible se transformó en asombro y luego en un temor inexplicable' (p. 393).

The linking of Rendón with autochthonous symbolic elements may, on the other hand, inspire confidence rather than fear, as in the case of don Bruno. This can be seen on two occasions. On the first, when he entrusts his *hacienda* to Rendón, don Bruno equates the latter with the still waters of a river, calling to mind the ethos of justice being carried out *sin rabia*: 'los ojos del indio tenían la luz del gran remanso a cuyas orillas el palacio de la hacienda Parquiña iba destruyéndose; esa agua era transparente, más dichosa que todos los cielos; acariciaba el corazón' (p. 305). The second episode echoes this as don Bruno and Rendón kneel in the burnt down church of San Pedro: 'encontró en los ojos del comunero como una especie de reflejo de la paz y la dulzura del cielo, y del agua tranquila y silenciosa de los manantiales que se guardan incontaminados en las grandes alturas' (p. 396). As seen in the next chapter, eyes, such as Matilde's, and water act as mediums of purification and communication, enacting a transformation in the interlocutor. The association on both occasions cited between light, water, or blood and tears, and the dawn of a new era can be seen in Arguedas' letter to Hugo Blanco: 'Ese hermoso día que vendrá...siento en la niña de mis ojos su aurora; en esa luz está cayendo gota por gota tu dolor ardiente, gota por gota, sin acabarse jamás' (Arguedas 1969, 14).[89]

From this, it is a short step towards associating Rendón with a divine being which will usher in a new order, such as the 'Amarus' and 'Cataris' Rosalind Gow (1982, 217) speaks off, and this becomes more explicit towards the end of the novel as the pace of the plot is heightened. The *colonos* from don Lucas' *hacienda* believe Rendón is endowed with *wamani* protection: 'Dicen cóndor wamani te cuida con su sombra' (p.

[89] The link between water (tears), fire and purification is also revealed in the letter.

424),[90] whilst Saturco suggests Rendón has incarnated these very elements: 'Hombre no es; hijo del Pukasira o hijo del Dios de la iglesia. ¡Hombre que muere, no es!' (p. 440). This connection with a native cosmology suggests that Rendón is able to restore the broken links between social and cosmic spheres and reinstate the protection of the *wamani* over San Pedro, particularly when the *vecinos*, in an act of *rabia*, burn down the church of San Pedro: 'la voz de las campanas, el himno que tocaba en ellas Demetrio, devolvió a la montaña protectora del pueblo su conexión con la villa y con la cadena de cerros y nevados de la que se había aislado, ennegreciendo, cruzándose de rocas y de arbustos muertos' (p. 397). Like *la kurku* after him, Rendón re-establishes the severed links resulting in a post-Conquest *soledad cósmica* and signals the resurgence of the Indian *ayllus* by animating, in this case, as in *la kurku's*, through music, or the bells, the pre-Columbian *fuentes de alegría*[91] necessary for their reconstitution and the beginning of a new era. This is confirmed by the words of a *comunera* from La Providencia who defines Rendón as: 'un hombre que está empezando la alegría' (p. 454). Not surprisingly, this capacity to restore confidence is later attributed by Arguedas to Hugo Blanco.[92]

The transformation of Rendón into a messianic figure associated with a divine order rests on the premise that, like *Inkarrí*, he comes to incarnate the experience of the indigenous community in the novel and, through a process of martyrdom, redeems and restores it from the fragmentary effects of oppression, *rabia*, or *la soledad cósmica.*[93] From the very start of *TLS*, this process of association begins in the minds of the residents of San Pedro and is initially manifested in popular song. Bellido, for example, recalls the *harawi* with which his *ayllu* bade him farewell when he was recruited to work on the roads (p. 51). The image of Rendón comes to his mind when the oppressive conditions under which the Indian community has lived are evoked in the song: 'la tranquila mole

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[90] In his study of Puquio, Arguedas reveals how *wamanis* take the form of birds (op. cit., 49). Since *wamanis* and *varayoq* are hierarchically situated (Earls 1969, 68-69), the implication is that the condor represents the oldest and most powerful *apu* or *wamani*, in this case Pukasira. This can be seen in *TLS* (pp. 38; 449).

[91] José María Arguedas, 'La soledad cósmica en la poesía quechua', *Idea, Artes y Letras* (Lima), 48-49 (1961a), 1-2.

[92] José María Arguedas, 'Correspondencia entre Hugo Blanco y José María Arguedas', *Amaru*, 11 (1969), 12-15 (p. 14).

[93] As seen in the next chapter, this role is taken on by many of the female characters in the novel, particularly *la kurku* who, as a Marian figure, relieves the suffering of the community. The association, in the case of Rendón, between leadership and sacrifice has a tradition in Arguedas' work, from Pantaleoncha in *Agua*, to "Honrao" Rojas in *YF*. It is however perhaps Alejandro Cámac in *IS* who best embodies this concept, his death in the novel equated with an act of *pachacuti* with its purifying and healing dimensions. The theme of sacrifice is also reflected in much of the folklore collected by Arguedas in the Mantaro valley in the early 1960s, where Arguedas makes special mention of the stories dealing with suicides. Pedro Lastra (1992, 30-31) reveals the uncanny connection between this interest and Arguedas' own fate a few years later.

del cuerpo del indio Rendón Willka, vestido de casimir, no se desprendía de su memoria...el harawi exaltaba más esa figura' (p. 52). Bellido's memory of a *comunero* who was to serve as his custodian (p. 51), suggests an unconscious analogy between this man and Rendón who will act as a guardian of the indigenous communities of San Pedro. This is echoed by Rendón's association with the 'gavilán' representing, as seen, a protective *wamani* spirit, in the *harawi* sung by *comunero* women as he departs for Lima (p. 67).[94]

These songs not only serve as repositories of autochthonous memory but, through their logic of association, act as mechanisms of symbolic production. The image of Rendón as the embodiment of the community who will purge it of its suffering, reaches a culminating point in the last scene of the novel. Having completed his mission to reconstitute the *ayllus* and create a group ethos through co-operative work methods, Rendón accepts his fate with equanimity: 'tranquilo regocijo' (p. 454), defying his executioners and death itself: 'somos hombres que ya hemos de vivir eternamente. Si quieres, si te provoca, dame la muertecita, la pequeña muerte, capitán' (p. 455). This death-wish echoes the theme of martyrdom incarnated in the figures of the *condenados* in the folklore of the Mantaro valley (Arguedas 1953a; 1960-1961), the implication being that by courting death, they challenge and ultimately defeat it. Rendón's stoicism in the face of death, the latter, as seen in *La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti* constituting a rite of passage necessary for new life,[95] and the symbolic dimensions he has acquired so far, makes him exceed his status as an individual, his name being substituted by Arguedas with the archetypalizing pronoun 'lo': 'Pero lo pusieron bajo ese árbol para fusilarlo' (p. 452) and 'el oficial lo hizo matar' (p. 455). This pronoun suggests a diachronic angle being taken which places Rendón in a historical continuum with other immolated figures of Andean insurrection. Túpac Amaru I and II and Hugo Blanco immediately come to mind, linking up with the overarching presence of *Inkarrí*.[96] Because death in this context of 'la longue

[94] The songs sung in high-pitched voices originate from pre-Columbian funereal songs and those sung during the sowing season. As seen in Chapter Two and the next chapter, these songs stimulate growth by harnessing the 'ánimo', or energy, from the dead (Harris 1992; Gose 1994).

[95] Death is also an inextricable part of the work cycle and vice versa, confirmed in its image as a group of workers building a tower on the mountain Qoropuna, as evidenced in Arguedas' study of Puquio (op. cit., 73). This can be seen in *TLS* (p. 217).

[96] Earls (1969, 79) reveals that Hugo Blanco was actually equated with the Inca during his leadership of the peasants in La Convención.

durée' (Braudel 1980, 25) is inevitable yet not finite, Rendón, like those before him, gives himself up with an air of willingness.

Placed alongside a prior scene of his having been beaten as a child in school, this episode reveals a continuity, or cycle, of suffering and resistance, suggesting that Rendón's fate has been sealed from the outset. Victimized by Brañes and Pancorvo in a scene paralleling that of Vallejo's *Paco Yunque*, Rendón's forbearance means that he transcends his personal status and comes to be referred to by the narrator as 'el joven indio' (p. 66). The associations between this *indio* and symbols from the natural world, such as the *apus* to which he flees after being whipped, represent latent power and resistance: 'el joven indio se dirigió al poyo... Cuando tocaban las doce, él subía la montaña, con el sol en su apogeo' (p. 66). This challenges the authority of the *mistis*, the futility of their punishment evidenced by Pancorvo's father: 'Es como no hacer nada. Se ha ido tranquilo. Es como si la sangre no fuera sangre para ellos' (p. 66). Juxtaposed with a scene witnessed by Arguedas on the *hacienda* of Viseca (Arguedas 1989a, 21-22), this episode establishes a sequence with the author's past, blurring spatial and temporal boundaries and revealing Arguedas' creation of paradigmatic figures through a process of diachronism and imaginative conflation.[97] It also reveals the coalescence of fact and fiction in Arguedas' work and literature functioning as 'testimonio'.

Rendón's growing messianic dimension feeds into a discourse of millenarianism which fuses the theme of work and resistance from his politico-religious agenda. The image of groups of workers led by *cabecillas,* transformed into a disciplined army and forming a united front against the soldiers, points to the resurgence of an indigenous language of resistance rooted in the defence of land. As seen in Chapter Two, working the land is directly equated with staking a claim over it and in turn defending that claim. External aggression to the community and resistance to it by the latter are thus translated into telluric terms, with the added cosmological dimensions that this implies. In many ways, therefore, the soldiers represent a threat to *Pachamama* and the equilibrium between social and cosmic orders.[98] On the other hand, placing non-

[97] This can also be seen in Arguedas' evocation of Hugo Blanco in his letter to the latter (op. cit.) and in the description of the Cuban revolutionary in the *Primer diario* of *FZ* (pp. 9-10). In many ways these figures build on Mariátegui's image of Ezequiel Urviola, a prototypical 'nuevo indio'. See his prologue to Valcárcel's *Tempestad en los Andes* (Lima: Editorial Universo, 1975).

[98] Land, and its defence, takes on religious dimensions, as Hugo Blanco's (1972) rallying cry, 'tierra o muerte', reveals. García-Sayán (1982, 211-212) makes this point: 'En el camino a esta utopía y entendiendo el

indigenous culture, the soldiers, within an autochthonous mental framework becomes a means of defying and subverting it. The shots from the troop's rifles are thus perceived in terms of images from a native cosmology: 'maíz tostado en la fuente de barro, al fuego' and the spilling of blood as 'agua colorada de ayrampu' (p. 450). This reflects the fact that, as Montoya (1986) and Flores Galindo (1978) have emphasized, the rebellions of the 1960s were primarily agrarian in nature, that is, concerned with land and labour issues.[99] Meanwhile, through pre-Columbian work methods, man, submerged in the collective, surpasses his individual status. The new group status of the Indian community defies the spatial and temporal categories based on linearity represented by the troops so that complete annihilation becomes an impossibility: 'matarán a unos pocos y se irán. ¿Quien va a matar a todos?'(p. 450).

Needless to say, this millenarian outlook in which linear spatial and temporal contours have collapsed, completely overturns the image of indigenous defeat or punishment, *escarmiento*, with which many *indigenista* novels end, whilst the individual and the collective with which he has fused increasingly acquire messianic force. Rendón's personal resurgence, therefore, comes to be closely dependent on that of the indigenous community as a whole. This can be seen in the image of the growing *pisonay* tree at the close of the novel which mirrors the effect Rendón's words have on the community: 'y el pisonay creció. Se hizo alto y corpulento, más rojizo' (p. 450). When he is about to be shot, Rendón equates the eventual revival of the *ayllu*, and his own, with that of the tree: 'el pisonay llora; derramará sus flores por la eternidad de la eternidad, creciendo. Ahora de pena, mañana de alegría' (p. 455).[100] If the community and the individual merge as one in the image of the tree, as it had in the image of the *varayoq*, this is due to the reinstatement of a common ethnic identity. By appealing to a *pukasira* tradition, Rendón not only consolidates the collective status of the Indian community, but legitimizes it by placing it in a historical continuum. From this temporal angle, the

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carácter mágico-religioso de la *pachamama*, la madre tierra, se plantean y llevan adelante las concepciones de "dar la vida" por la tierra o de "tierra o muerte."' Gordon Brotherston (1997) has recently emphasized the ontological importance of land to the indigenous community in the Chiapas region of Mexico.

[99] This is confirmed by Hugo Blanco (1976). Gose (1994, 60; 236-253) meanwhile makes a strong case for land occupations having been organized around rituals associated with the annual cycle and communal ways of working the land.

[100] This image of the flowers echoes that of the opening scene of the novel when the suicide of don Andrés is preceded by a description of the *k'antu* flowers on the *apu Apukintu*, both having sacrificial connotations. The *pisonay* also recalls a scene in Arguedas' early life of a *comunero* being hung and flogged from its branches (Arguedas 1989a, 21-22).

soldiers, equated with the coming of the Spanish 'werak'ochas' (p. 449), are not only put into perspective, but are also diminished by it: 'la hacienda es del padre Pukasira. El hizo esta tierra antes de que los señores werak'ochas hubieran llegado a nuestros pueblos' (p. 449). The fusion of messianic and millenarian concepts, the coalescence of Rendón and the community in a framework of diachronism, not only presages the close of the *Inkarrí* cycle, but looks back to the reaffirmation of life in the dead figure of Juan Pariona at the beginning of the novel (p. 59). The *wanka* or work song in which the latter appears, points to the eventual reconstitution of the individual and the community through the collective work efforts of the *ayllu*. In this way, work becomes a metaphor for continuous resistance and the eventual resurgence of life, transcending spatial and temporal contours.

Chapter Four: Feminine Paradigms and Alternative Discourses of Resistance

i) Feminist Epistemology and the Role of Women in Western and Non-Western Contexts

United by a common purpose to use gender as a conceptual framework to dismantle what was perceived to be the patriarchal nature of academia, be it the social sciences, literary studies, or psychoanalysis, feminist academics began by adopting a more contextual approach in order to explain the specific socio-economic and cultural reasons for oppression.[1] This required an interdisciplinary methodology, employing techniques and knowledges from what were now viewed as interrelated fields. Feminist incursions into the social sciences were based on the emphasis of empirical research methods, focusing on the social subjects themselves and the latter's own versions of events. This ethnomethodological or phenomenological approach (understanding social actors and social actions from the point of view of the actors) gave primacy to a system of knowledge based on experience which ultimately validated not only the personal and contextual nature of the former but its gendered qualities also.[2]

The problem with positing a feminist science or epistemology, however, is that it can run the risk of becoming, like many of the theories or practices it finds fault with, too universalist and ahistorical. Some have even criticized its essentialist reductionism, women's experience naturalized as different (gynocentrism), without taking into account the class differences between women which influence the way they live their lives and perceive reality. The most vociferous and perhaps most recent criticism, however, is directed at what is perceived to be its ethnocentricity. Non-western feminist critics have begun to question the racial and ethnic assumptions on which the proposal

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[1] Combating rationalist bias and revalidating emotion was seen as a means of countering what were perceived to be androcentric and/or phallocentric knowledge systems (Jaggar and Bordo 1990, 1-10).

[2] Women's experience and women as knowing subjects as distinct from men not only emerged as a branch of this approach but soon laid the foundations for a more radical questioning of the gendered nature of scientific theoretical and empirical research. For Dorothy Smith (1988), a sociology of women must take a phenomenological approach, viewing everyday realities as female actors do. It must also question the ownership of knowledge and encourage women to repossess knowledge of themselves. According to Smith, this can be done by situating oneself and social actors in a network of power relations or 'relations of ruling' (1988, 3). In other words, it is important to explore not only how knowledge is constructed, but also how it is utilized: 'To view society and social relations in terms of the perspectives, interests and relevances of men active in relations of ruling. It is to know ourselves thus' (1988, 2-3).

for a feminist epistemology is based. Arguing that capitalist society is not only gender (patriarchal) and economically (class) structured, but is also racially constituted, challenges many feminisms, whether Marxist, liberal or radical, opening the way to deconstructing 'woman' as a category by exploring the heterogeneity of subordination.[3] What must be taken into account are the ways in which gendered and racialized structuring are inextricably linked, influencing one another and often experienced simultaneously (Bhavnani 1993, 34).

In their analysis of the ways in which gender, race and class interrelate to construct social subjects, Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis emphasize the need to focus on the 'intersection' (1992, 20) between these organizing principles, simultaneously articulating the varying forms of social differentiation and oppression in order to avoid privileging one form, such as race, over another. This posits both a contextual and intertextual approach since not only must the viewer position him/herself in a particular historicized network of social relations, but negotiate with the multiple discourses operating on the individual. Avoiding a reading that creates a hierarchy of oppression by adopting a more hybrid or syncretic approach to ethnic difference, however, also has its pitfalls. Gloria Anzaldúa's *Borderlands. La frontera. The New Mestiza* (1987) is a case in point. Drawing from Vasconcelos' notion of a mixed race which forms the basis of a universal 'raza cósmica', Anzaldúa demonstrates her aim to undermine a separate racial consciousness by situating her protagonist at the confluence of racial and ethnic streams (1987, 80). One can see, however, how this celebration of an organic identity based on genetic fusion or biologist miscegenation smacks of eugenics for some, racial and national mixture a euphemism for racial whitening and ethnocentric nationalism.[4] Difference is replaced by sameness, rendering discourse biologist and ahistorical with false claims to universality.

State repression and market forces in Latin America have redrawn the boundaries between public and private spheres which have traditionally separated male

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[3] It also permits an exploration of the ways in which women oppress other women, white middle class women escaping traditional roles at the expense of poorer, often ethnically different women who service their households or do jobs they do not want, or in the case of the United States, at the expense of black men's rights and jobs (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1992, 111)

[4] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak comments on the 'dark side' of political programmes of pluralism in *The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues*, ed. by Sarah Harasym (London: Routledge, 1990), p. 47.

and female identities and roles. This has meant that political parties and trade unions, traditionally male dominated and built around the notion of separate spheres, have had to accommodate an emergent voice with not only a different form of participating, but a new conception of what is political (Arizpe 1990, xviii). According to Elizabeth Jelin, the appearance of these political actors represents the development of new forms of social relations and organizations: 'What is in question is a new form of politics and a new form of civil society or sociability' (1990, 3), resting on the politicization of the private sphere. In her mind this constitutes 'a profound change in social logic' (1990, 3), coinciding with the rise of populist groups challenging traditional class based parties no longer seen to be representative.

The emergence of women's organizations from popular sectors of society also poses a challenge to traditional middle class feminist groups. Jean Franco (1989, xxi) witnesses the move to bridge divisions between urban middle class feminist groups and those from popular sectors of society in Mexico after the state crisis of 1968, when the need for greater articulation with the subaltern classes was recognized. Today, Latin American feminist movements, recognizing the need for a distinct set of values from their Anglo-American and French counterparts, have turned to autochthonous figures such as the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, Rigoberta Menchú or Domitila de Chungara and as such have found themselves espousing the socio-political objectives of the wider community. The shifting urban-rural boundaries, due to industrialization and large-scale migration, has meant that many women have been pushed to the frontier of socio-cultural and public-private boundaries and as a result have found themselves in a position to negotiate new identities and roles. Responding to transformations in their societies, many have themselves become agents of change.

Gender role and identity configurations in Peru share much in common with the rest of Latin America but retain some specificities of their own. The aim here is not to outline the development of the feminist movement in Peru, but to highlight some of the prevailing concerns and images of femininity arising from sociological and anthropological discourses. A point which must be made to start with is that, as in much of Latin America, the classic Marxist feminist thesis conceptualizing women as an oppressed class in a capitalist patriarchy, becomes a simplification of the facts due to the

highly stratified ethnic nature of the country where women are often pitted against other women, as well as against other men. Things are complicated further when one takes into account the unequal relationship between socio-economic developments and psycho-social or cultural ones. As has been seen time and time again, the speed of change in one field does not automatically correlate with the speed of change in the other, often leading to a difficult coexistence between 'modern' and 'traditional'. In other words, racist and patriarchal (*machista*) outlooks or mentalities produce models of feminine behaviour, but the latter are also shaped by specific social milieu. The socio-economic and cultural heterogeneity of late twentieth century Peru can thus be seen to be reflected in the plurality of models of femininity and attitudes towards them.

Urban Milieu

The dichotomous view of woman as virgin and prostitute, probably arising from Catholic or Judaeo-Christian conditioning of sex roles, has become so internalized as to become a generic paradigm governing female identity and behaviour in Latin America: the passive female lauded for her constraint, whilst her antithesis is stigmatized for transgression (Ruiz Bravo 1990, 132; Francke 1990, 90). Whilst men actively pursue and enjoy sensual pleasure, women are encouraged to experience it passively as pain, thus becoming victims, when they are not discouraged from experiencing it altogether. Maruja Barrig sees this antithetical model of female conduct reflected in the duality centred around prevailing notions of 'decencia' (1979, 25) in Lima since the 1930s. The duality between upper-middle class 'pitucas' and popular or lower-middle class 'marocas' became a means not only of conceptualizing class relations at the time, but of regulating them through sex (1979, 52; 1981).[5] The female body became the means by which to map and control socio-cultural mobility at a time when rapid political and economic change and migration was changing the face of traditional oligarchic society. As Barrig points out, in literary descriptions of this model the 'pituca' is asexual, whilst the 'marocas' are presented in a lurid light as sexual initiators of middle-class boys: 'Una pituca no tiene sexo, está desprovista de él porque, finalmente, las pitucas son para

[5] Although currently out of use, the terms 'pituca' and 'maroca' are employed by Barrig (1979; 1981) to designate socio-cultural or ethnic feminine groupings in a particular historical frame, that is, from 1950 to 1975.

lucirlas y las marocas, para "tirárselas"'(1981, 78). The result is the demonization of one group, both class and ethnically determined, to preserve the sanctity of another. Today, this stigmatization of the 'marocas' has been transferred to domestic servants, the latter a focus for repressive urban and rural sexual codes, men in the families in which they work repeating *hacendado* or *misti* patterns of behaviour which often involve rape (Portocarrero 1993, 22).

Perhaps one of the most extensive studies on middle class urban women in Peru, Barrig's *Cinturón de castidad* (1979) employs the image of a chastity belt as a metaphor for the ideological and implicit socio-economic constraints on women in Republican Peru.[6] Her aim is to explore the continuities and discontinuities between images of femininity from 1950 to 1975 and the extent to which many women are still subject to the constraint of 'chastity'. Historicizing the latter involves a retreat to the bible and Catholic theology, where an Old Testament view of woman and sex equated with temptation and transgression prevails. Woman becomes the moral scapegoat for man's wrongdoings and the focus for Christian redemption. According to Barrig, this religious conception of woman is subsequently endorsed by a nineteenth century scientific view in which a naturalization of sexual difference provides a basis for socio-economic differentiation, leading to the sexual division of labour and the distinction between public-productive and private-reproductive spheres (1979, 45-48).

Until this point Barrig's thesis is rather dualistic, class or even ethnic factors not being taken into account as stratification markers amongst women. It is only when she focuses her attention on developments in the nineteenth century that her unitary category of 'la mujer' (1979, 16) or 'la actividad femenina' (1979, 21) begins to break down, revealing different shadings between upper, middle and lower class women. With the guano boom and immigration from Europe in the 1850s came the rise of the urban middle class, represented by the *civilistas*, which set its sights on education and non-manual labour as a means of upward mobility. Wanting to differentiate itself from the popular classes and aspire towards the aristocracy, it adopted the latter's concept of *decencia* whilst embracing 'modernity'. The result was a contradiction between discourse

6 'Y lo femenino no sólo implica la represión de la sexualidad sino también un conjunto de barreras ideológicas impuestas y asumidas por la mujer como un cinturón de castidad' (1979, 13).

and reality and a differential treatment of married and single women. Political parties such as APRA elevated the role of mother-wife to national levels, discouraging married women from working and making them legally dependent on their husbands.

Despite changes in sexual and marital codes and the growth of feminism from the 1960s onwards, Barrig reveals the prevalence of 'los arquetipos mentales del patriarcado' (1979, 76) operating through the discourses of politics and the media. In a sense, official images of femininity transcended class and ethnic divides, women from different groups equally victims of them. Barrig reveals, however, that the integration of women into education and the work-force according to the classes they belonged to, influenced the degree to which official messages were internalized. Whilst women of the middle and upper classes were able to distance themselves from conservative images and roles due to financial stability from work in professional spheres, those from the popular classes in domestic service and commercial activities in the informal sector, took a more conservative line, upholding those ideals in the face of social and economic insecurity. Marriage, chastity and *decencia,* whilst increasingly anachronistic to the emergent classes and bourgeoisie, therefore, remained the means by which to acquire mobility and security for those less privileged perhaps to think otherwise.

In the last two decades, however, the internalization of patriarchal notions defining woman's role in the home has been seen to conflict with the changes taking place at a socio-economic level and the harsh realities of poverty. The latter have pushed women into the public sphere as working mothers and, in many cases recently, as activists in *vaso de leche* and *comedores populares* projects (Rivera 1993). This public role has, however, been perfectly integrated with their private identities as mothers and wives, saying much about traditional feminist ideology which emphasized the incompatibility of the two. The new roles and identities acquired by women in the *barriadas* of Lima, such as María Elena Moyano,[7] who fiercely maintain their independence in the face of criticism from all quarters, also says a lot about the heterogeneity of women's positions in non-western contexts. The emergence of such

[7] In 1986 María Elena Moyano became President of FEPOMUVES (Federacíon Popular de Mujeres de Villa el Salvador) which brought together up to seventy *clubes de madres*, centralizing their energies for the organization of *vaso de leche* and *comedores populares* programmes. In February 1992 she was assassinated by Sendero Luminoso (Moyano 1993, 28).

women as new social and political actors, unrepresented by existing political parties, testifies not only to the ability for self-empowerment and organization, but to the existence of different political and economic priorities, as Jelin (1990, 3) has pointed out. As with the rise of ethnic leaders and groups in the Amazon and in Ecuador (Montoya 1992), this suggests the splintering of traditional political discourses and the emergence of new discursive configurations. In urban centres of Peru, women are now seen to be active and entrepreneurial in both public and private spheres for, in a context where the lines between these are increasingly blurred, many women have come to occupy both (Ruiz Bravo 1990, 128-129).

Rural Milieu, or Andean Women at the Juncture

In order to examine the ways in which gender and ethnicity intersect in the system of stratification in the Andes, issues such as landownership and the division of labour will be examined by viewing comparative anthropological and historical material. The study of the positions and roles of women in the Andes is also inextricably linked with a history of resistance. Whilst some social scientists take a historicist view on the subject, others such as Irene Silverblatt survey their social actors through the optic of 'la longue durée' (Braudel 1980, 25), highlighting the emergence of both short and long-term strategies of resistance. In her endeavour to investigate what she terms to be the 'dialectic between the destructive external forces of colonialism and the indigenous modes of organization - their structures of defence' (1987, 110), Silverblatt reveals the existence of a 'female culture of resistance' (1980, 176) which transcends specific spatial and temporal boundaries. Whilst illustrating her points with personal testimonies, she places these within a broader historical framework thus representing the continuous nature of this resistance.

In the introduction to their analysis of the consequences of colonization on women in South America, Mona Etienne and Eleanor Leacock emphasize that the colonial model of the nuclear family enforced by the Catholic Church, particularly the Jesuits, accentuated gender inequalities by undermining indigenous institutions which had previously guaranteed women's rights (1980, 18). A parallel reading of Silverblatt, however, constitutes something of a revisionist outlook, suggesting that patriarchal

systems, together with stratification along class lines, were already in place in pre-Columbian times. According to Silverblatt (1987, 14-19), a growing ideology of Conquest in Inca society meant that emphasis was increasingly placed on the military capacity of men and, as a reward for services rendered to the state, they were given land. This began to erode the system of parallel descent with its built-in safeguarding of women's rights.[8] As the empire expanded, land and thus power increasingly lay in male hands. What is more, patriarchal structures became more entrenched as class divisions grew. The system of *curacas* reveals that not only did this class own more land, but more men than women within it owned land. The arrival of the Spanish, with its market economy and Judaeo-Christian religious framework, accentuated these gender and class divisions, favouring male *curacas* and now male *peninsulares* in their claims to land.[9] The setting up of *reducciones* comprising *comuneros* from different *ayllus* also broke the emphasis on endogamy, thus severely undermining the system of parallel descent and reinforcing patrilineal and patrilocal ties (1987, 131-132).

If colonial times saw an increased privileging of the male descent group in its ownership of land, Marisol de la Cadena (1991, 14-15) points out the reversal of this pattern this century in a community in the Department of Cuzco, as land loses out to the city in terms of monetary value and prestige. As the male members leave their *ayllu* for the urban centre, inheritance patterns revert to favour the female members of the family. In reality, however, this land, due to centuries of state appropriation and subdivision, is no longer a lucrative asset. As it irremediably loses its liberating potential for women, work is turned to as a substitute.

Whilst the paradigm of male-female complementarity governed work relations in pre-Columbian times,[10] the Incas' imposition of the tribute in the form of *mita* on the

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[8] Reciprocity, or *ayni*, as an organizing principle in Andean society is manifest in the parity between a married couple, the latter equated with adulthood or socialization, and a system of kinship ties based on parallel lines of descent. These lines of descent are also genderized: sons inherit usufruct rights to lands and grazing animals from their fathers and daughters from their mothers, so that equal access to land and the community's resources is granted regardless of gender (Silverblatt 1987, 5).

[9] Because of their inferior rights to land and capacity to work women, together with the indigenous peasantry, were regarded as 'legal minors', business transactions and the exercising of land rights only possible through the mediation of a 'male tutor' (Silverblatt 1987, 119)

[10] Pre-Inca times revealed an essential complementarity in work relations particularly in the realm of agriculture, women's tasks (planting seeds, weeding and hoeing) seen to complement men's (ploughing and harvesting) directly (Silverblatt 1987, 9-14). This pattern followed a cosmological model of complementarity. Women were seen to follow in the line of *Pachamama* which ensured fertility, the traditional female task of sowing seeds linked to the reproduction of life (Silverblatt 1987, 29). Harris (1978) and Platt (1986), however, have emphasized that this model of complementarity must not be confused with equality. Although female tasks were and are integral to the functioning of the family and *ayllu* unit, they were not given the same significance or value as male tasks. Whilst women were given the role of managing agricultural storage and

married man and the emphasis on combat as an alternative means of labour, meant that work was a growing male preserve before the arrival of the Spanish. Nevertheless, Silverblatt reveals that *curaca* women were able to acquire leverage through the control of the *mamacona* or *aclla* institution of enforced virginity (1987, 82). As 'agronomist-geneticists' (1987, 122), they headed networks which linked women from the empire. They also controlled the prestigious task of weaving undertaken by unmarried women in these institutions. Nevertheless, with the arrival of the Spanish and the dismantling of such structures, weaving becoming increasingly commercialized and undertaken by all women (1987, 134-136), these roles lost their capacity to offer unmarried and *curaca* women alternative spaces for exercising power.

If the tribute was the single most important fiscal measure for the Spanish, the fact that it became both a labour and monetary tax and was enforced on the male head of the family meant that, as in Inca times, gender divisions were reinforced within the family unit. Furthermore, as the economy expanded and men were lured into working outside their *ayllus* in order to avoid tribute demands,[11] the emphasis on endogamy which had ensured parallel transmission and labour complementarity was once again undermined. This, together with increased levels of drunkenness and wife beating (Silverblatt 1987, 145), contributed to the erosion of kinship and marriage norms.

Since the 1960s, many anthropologists using a Marxist theoretical framework have regarded socio-economic issues, such as the division of labour, as key concepts in understanding the position of women in Andean society both past and present. In their study on Andean women, Susan Bourque and Barbara Warren explore the ways in which proximity to urban areas influences class and patriarchal relations. Their thesis rests on the premise that the further a community is from a town or city, the more rigid its class and gender relations, whilst closer proximity allows for the greater mobility of women and more fluid class structures. According to them, women in more urban areas are less affected by male favoured inheritance lines, stemming from communal land bases, due to the greater quantity of privately owned land (1981, 127-128).[12] This limits

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domestic consumption and performed essential agricultural tasks such as planting and harvesting, these were perceived as subordinate since they belonged to the private sphere.

[11] Escaping from one's *ayllu* became a means by which to escape the census polls and the tribute, but women who stayed behind found themselves having to pay it instead (Silverblatt 1987, 136-137).

[12] Often the town would have less communal land due to its lack of status as a *comunidad indígena* (1981, 37).

their role in the sphere of domestic consumption, releasing them for the management of cash crops aimed for the market. The growing emphasis away from agricultural production in turn leads to greater diversification in business activities. As Florence Babb (1985) reveals, if women were traditionally considered to play a reproductive role in Peruvian society this has changed since the 1950s and 1960s when they were seen to be occupying a more productive position in the market economy. The boundaries between the two spheres today are increasingly blurred as women carry out traditional domestic duties, such as child-rearing and preparation of food, whilst engaging in market relations in the public arena.

The concept of market women forming part of an alternative inter-class, ethnic and gender culture is one which concerns a number of sociologists grappling with the amorphous informal sector. According to Linda Seligmann, the market women's mediatory position between indigenous and non-indigenous spheres makes them transcend their occupational position and occupy an alternative social category. Situated at the juncture of rural-urban, traditional-modern, these women, or *cholas*, acquire pivotal roles and act as socio-economic and cultural intermediaries in contexts of social change. This position in a nation where boundaries are open to negotiation, gives them a role as 'brokers' (1989, 695), the market-place itself being the juncture, 'border' (1989, 698) or 'nexus' (1989, 703) between rural and urban fields. Their cultural practices, such as distinctive clothing and Quechua usage, secure a distinct ethnic base, whilst their extroverted conduct in the market defies patriarchal rules of conduct and concepts of femininity. As such, they represent, according to Seligmann: 'an alternative construction of gendered, class and ethnic identity' (1993, 194). Due to their participation in the market, they also acquire a sense of class-consciousness which is directly linked to their ethnicity, forming alliances with Indian peasants when they take political action.[13]

In a heterogeneous context where the traditional coast-*sierra* divide has been eroded, labour activities become more fluid. This has a determining effect on ethnicity. As seen in previous chapters, increased access to urban centres and participation in the

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[13] This is confirmed by Sarah Radcliffe who describes the ways in which peasant women in Peru confronted state projects in the late 1980s in an attempt to alleviate the consequences of high inflation and subsequent austerity measures (1993b, 209). The appropriation of images such as those of Túpac Amaru and his wife Micaela Bastidas, reveals their desire for a symbolic capital based on autochthonous ethnic and gender identities and roles (1993b, 210-211).

market economy 'miscegenizes' the population. Sarah Radcliffe (1993a), together with Babb and Seligmann, suggests that this process is also gendered and that male-female migratory patterns play a key part in shaping gender identities and roles. Whilst men tend to migrate for education or work, their travels tend to be seasonal in contrast to unmarried women who are encouraged to migrate to the nearest urban centre to find work as domestic servants on a semi-permanent basis (1993a, 280).[14] Contact with an urban centre also affects ethnicity, winning these women the title of *mestiza* so that they soon gain economic independence and begin to move up the ethnic ladder without the intervention of men (De la Cadena 1991, 21).[15] If market forces and occupation offer women a degree of ethnic mobility and allow them to resist the constraints of patriarchal structures in the *ayllu*,[16] other forms of resistance have also been available to them.

Female Strategies of Resistance

The history of female resistance in the Andes is an ambiguous and fragmented one. Silverblatt has suggested that the arrival of the Spanish affected women differentially since *curaca* women, who had enjoyed political and religious power during the Inca era, found this authority eroded more than other women (1987, 115-116). She claims that strategies of resistance began, therefore, with these women defying the Spanish by keeping the memory of an Inca past alive through their dress and weaving codes (1987, 123). This combined with a more openly active role in the indigenous rebellions of the eighteenth century. Micaela Bastidas, the wife of Túpac Amaru II, was, for example, one of several female leaders to advise on military campaigns and head armies of women soldiers against the colonial authorities (Silverblatt 1987, 123).[17]

If the latter kind of active resistance was sporadic in nature, Silverblatt points to a more indirect and enduring means of defiance: 'the sorcery weapon' (1987, 159). As

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[14] Married women are strongly discouraged from migrating unless they are following their husbands (1993a, 280).

[15] This contrasts with married women. Here, gender and ethnic prejudices are inextricably linked. Due to the devaluing of the terms 'Indian' and 'female' as both the latter's work loses prestige, the two become synonymous, making women 'más indias' (De la Cadena 1991, 11) than men. Although De la Cadena admits the potentially liberating role of market women in urban centres, she does not share Babb or Seligmann's open optimism. She sees women's access to cities as highly monitored by men. Furthermore, their market tasks in the city are regarded as secondary to that of men in the community and city, since they are seen to be selling the fruits of male toil (De la Cadena 1991, 21) .

[16] According to Radcliffe, it is often the contradiction between these structures and market forces which propels women to migrate (1993a, 280).

[17] Other examples include the *curaca* Tomasa Tito Condemayta in Acomayo in the Department of Cuzco (Silverblatt 1987, 123).

women found their material rights limited in the colonial society, they turned to the symbolic for compensation and resistance. The revival of ancient cults headed by a network of priestesses was seen as a means of vindication for many women. This role in local cult worship, the latter by this stage operating within the framework of Catholic ritual, was compounded by activities in herbal medicine and midwifery (1987, 195).[18] The Spanish immediately plotted this into the discourse on witchcraft which so obsessed the Europe of the Counter-Reformation.[19] Nevertheless, as Silverblatt pointedly suggests, the transformation of women into witches provided them with a means of resistance (1987, 195). Religious subversion thus joined hands with political opposition so that, contrary to their aims, the Spanish politicized some of the weakest elements in colonial society.

Since native culture was increasingly under the protection of these women, the latter became a means by which to mask its identity (Silverblatt 1987, 205-206) for, as Silverblatt reveals, if the Spanish regime made public figures out of men, it rendered women 'invisible' (1987, 202). The revival of the Inca emphasis on celibacy and virginity in the religious cults, meanwhile, became synonymous with a rejection of dealings with the colonial world (1987, 206). If women in western discourse had traditionally been associated with nature and the 'wild', in the Andes they were beginning to fulfil that image, particularly since they were also acting in accordance with pre-Columbian precepts which equated unmarried women with the 'uncivilized' (1987, 209-210).[20] Driven into the *puna* to service the ancient *huacas*, they contributed to the sustenance of native culture and a discourse of resistance (1987, 207).[21]

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[18] Jean Franco reveals how in seventeenth-century colonial Mexico, women marginalized from the 'master narratives' (1989, xii) privileging male rationality, created alternative spaces in which to 'imagine' (1989, xiv) or 'plot' (1989, xv) themselves, thus opening up a 'space for female empowerment' (1989, xiv). Mysticism, popular theatre and story-telling for upper middle class and subaltern women, became a means of challenging the patriarchal nature of church authority (1989, xiv-xvii).

[19] Julio Caro Baroja's (1993) study of witches in Europe provides a detailed account of this.

[20] Harris' reveals that the *chachawarmi* model of complementarity governing male-female relations in Aymara communities functions both at a cosmological and social level, demarcating nature-culture boundaries such that couples are 'cultural', whilst those who are unmarried are equated with the 'wild' (1978, 28). As well as differentiating men from women, therefore, it also contrasts married with unmarried women. Billie Jean Isbell (1976), Tristan Platt (1986) and Sarah Lund Skar (1993) also highlight how men and women in the Andes are divided according to *hanan-hurin* spatial divisions.

[21] One such resistance movement linked to the revival of *huacas* was the *Taqui Ongoy* or 'Dancing Sickness' of 1560-1570, inspired by Titu Cusi's failed rebellion against the Spanish. According to Luis Millones (1964; 1965; 1990), this movement was motivated by a desire for regional autonomy by local *curacas* who had seen their power eroded by the colonial state, the *huacas* representing regional sanctuaries. The role of women in this has not been fully explored yet, but the presence of self-professed *santas* taking the names of 'María' and 'María Magdalena' (Millones 1965) suggests they played a significant part. As Steve Stern (1982) points out, *Taqui Ongoy* was the result of a crisis in the recently established colonial order and was shortly followed by Viceroy Toledo's reforms.

This discourse of resistance has had great influence on contemporary anthropologists who tend to view native culture in a permanent state of opposition. Following on from Silverblatt, the Taller de la Historia Oral Andina, or THOA, correlates female resistance with that of the larger indigenous community. It contrasts isolated moments of active rebellion[22] with an indirect line of contestation embodied in daily activities. As well as fulfilling their role in agricultural and domestic spheres, women are seen to have preserved a sense of cultural identity in their weavings, encoding their history into textiles (1990, 167). These woven accounts, with their highly symbolic and non-linear form of narration, reflect the pattern of indigenous oral history (1990, 180). In her study of women in Chamula, in Chiapas, Brenda Rosenbaum (1993, 33) compares women weavers whose work has become a tool of ethnic resistance to local artisans struggling against increasing cultural commodification.[23] THOA also coincides with Silverblatt in emphasizing the role of the female witch doctor, or *yatiri* in Aymara, in preserving magical beliefs. The *yatiri* is also seen to have played an important role in times of conflict, performing rituals to 'protect' indigenous armies during battle (1990, 163-164) and to ward off the evils associated with the *criollo* world (1990, 167-168). Enforcing the 'sacrificial' nature of native resistance, they imbued the latter with a sense of millenarianism. Indian demands for justice were thus often legitimized and radicalized by women.

Recent studies, therefore, have emphasized that resistance is increasingly associated with a reverting to traditional identities and roles. According to Penelope Harvey (1992), in a study carried out in Ocongate in the southern *sierra* of Peru from 1983 to 1988, the lack of knowledge of Spanish, particularly amongst women, is due to a resumption of female activities in the private sphere.[24] Significantly, younger generation girls are encouraged to learn Spanish and wear western clothing, thus becoming *mestizas*, whilst retaining Quechua monolingual practices and traditional clothing is seen as the preserve of older married women. As well as providing access to

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[22] These include the land invasions in Bolivia at the turn of the century, the rebellions during the civil war in 1899 and those of the Chaco War from 1932 to 1935 (THOA 1990, 153; 156).

[23] She also reveals how weaving defines female identity in Chamula since female children are symbolically given weaving tools on their birth (1993, 37).

[24] Forty-six per cent of women interviewed were Quechua monolingual compared to only ten per cent of men (1992, 230).

social mobility for some women, language grants alternative opportunities for older women, therefore, since by encouraging them to remain monolingual turns them into repositories of ethnic identity and vehicles of resistance.

The differential consequences of colonialism, market economics and migration on women has meant that multiple strategies of resistance and modes of mobilization have emerged, from the active and autonomous role of *mestizas* and market women, or *cholas*, to the more 'passive' or indirect line of resistance espoused by *comuneras* or married women. As has been seen, for many women in the Andes the lines between public and private spheres have increasingly been eroded so that public roles in the market are perfectly integrated with private identities as mothers and wives, whilst for others, private identities become vehicles for ethnic resistance. These, because they are usually equated with the larger community, have thus become increasingly public. Whilst Silverblatt sees what she terms a 'female culture of resistance' (1980, 176) being consolidated in the colonial era, particularly as it gained strength from the indigenous population which shared many of its strategies,[25] THOA places the history of female resistance in a continuum by highlighting the intrinsically resistant nature of Andean femininity due to its role as a reproducer and defender of life (1990, 160-61).

In her study of women in Chamula, Rosenbaum also makes a strong case for a sense of resistance being fostered through female fertility symbols, such as the moon or Mother Earth, particularly at times of crisis when the community is perceived to be under threat (1993, 19-28).[26] The linking of actual women to cosmological female images means that the former acquire and exercise power in 'informal ways' (1993, p. 153). Significantly, this echoes what Marina Warner has said about female iconography in western societies: 'a symbolised female presence both gives and takes value and meaning in relation to actual women, and contains the potential for affirmation not only of women themselves but of the general good they might represent and in which as half of humanity they are deeply implicated' (1987, xx). In the Andes, the recourse to paradigmatic female identities and roles points to the importance of a female led discourse of resistance in defending and mobilizing autochthonous culture.

[25] These were diverse as it: 'rebelled against, accommodated, adapted to, and ignored' Spanish institutions (Silverblatt 1987, 212).
[26] In recent times this has been due to male migration in search of work (1993, 27).

ii) (Con-) Textualizing Femininities in *Todas las sangres*

As mentioned in Chapter One, the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* of 1965 saw Arguedas vigorously defending a concept of 'realidad realidad' (Arguedas 1986a, 140) which, based on the author's own experience of reality, had a distinctly 'testimonial' dimension to it. In fact, Arguedas' four interventions at this conference, not to mention those of the *Mesa redonda* highlighted in the previous chapter, and other writings on literary techniques, testify to the importance of personal experience in his writing.[27] Time and time again, a strong autobiographical element is worked into his account of his struggle for literary expression. When Escobar, also at the conference in Arequipa, highlighted the importance of intuition and imagination in Arguedas' writings and linked these to that experience of reality so strongly defended by him (Arguedas 1986a, 151; 201), one begins to apprehend more clearly the ways in which Arguedas fused fact and fiction at a textual level. In an attempt to shed light on the role of intuition in his work, Escobar gave a series of striking examples:

> No se explica por ejemplo, si uno analiza con criterio técnico, que en *El sexto* permita que Cámac, personaje fabuloso, se muera a la mitad de la obra, cuando técnicamente, por ciertas convenciones de técnica novelística, ese personaje debió morir al final; o en *Los ríos profundos* no se explica que arranque la novela con un extraordinario personaje, el Viejo, y que después nunca más vuelva a aparecer, se le pierde el Viejo en la novela. ¿Por qué? Porque se arrebata el hombre en el acto de la creación (Arguedas 1986a, 201).

Discontinuities and 'inconsistencies' are attributed by Escobar to the writer who selects and (re-) creates symbols according to the dictates of his imagination. Acknowledging this may explain the profound misunderstandings which arose during his lifetime between him and social scientists, not to mention other writers and literary critics, who judged literature according to different precepts.[28]

[27] I am thinking of 'La literatura peruana', *Coral*, 13 (1970), 47-53 and a talk given by Arguedas in Lima in 1966 (Arguedas 1989a).

[28] As seen in Chapters Two and Three, Henri Favre (1976) is a good example of a social scientist's outlook at this time. Viewing the socio-economic and cultural development of the nation through a distinctly linear optic, he saw *mestizaje* as a largely sequential process, where the acquisition of *mestizo* identity by the

Taking into account the two themes at the heart of the debate at Arequipa and later at the *Mesa redonda*, that is, the role of intuition in the creation of symbols, which instils fiction with a sense of reality as experienced by the writer (what Ciro Alegría called 'realidad vital' (Arguedas 1986a, 147), and the ultimately non-linear outlook of that writer (which Escobar refers to when he points to the structural 'inconsistencies' of Arguedas' novels), which clash with social scientific epistemologies and evolutionary concepts of socio-economic and cultural development, may help, therefore, to understand the salience of particular images around which Arguedas' built his narrative. Recurrent characters, such as the figure of the orphan, the absent father, the surrogate mother etc., all stem from Arguedas' childhood experience and act as organizing principles around which other figures are assembled. As has been revealed by several critics, many of these images follow a dualistic logic where opposites are counterpoised and the tension between them dramatized.[29] In many ways, the female characters of Arguedas' narrative follow this pattern, childhood experience (the absent maternal figure versus the all too accessible surrogate) coinciding here with what feminists would call a 'patriarchal' framework where women are viewed antithetically in accordance with Judaeo-Christian precepts as Marian or deviant figures.[30] That women in Arguedas' work should reflect this dichotomy is in no doubt when one views the recurrence of characters such as doña Caytana and doña Felipa[31] (Matilde and Vicenta in *TLS*) posited against deviant female figures such as *la opa*[32] and the prostitutes in Arguedas' last novel (*la kurku* Gertrudis in *TLS*).

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indigenous population was synonymous with an inevitable relinquishing of its previous cultural ties. Arguedas' concept of *mestizaje* was not only not so deterministic, but evolved over time, so that by the time he wrote *TLS* an element of scepticism re-evaluated prior concepts of miscegenation as fusion. As was pointed out in Chapters One and Two, Nelson Manrique (1995a) and Fermín del Pino (1995) have traced this development.

[29] This has led some critics, such as Vargas Llosa (1981; 1996), to view Arguedas' work as Manichean, whilst others, such as Cornejo Polar (1973), Ortega (1982), or Escobar (1976; Arguedas 1986a), prefer to see these symbols functioning in a dialectical manner.

[30] See Barrig (1979). Patricia Ruíz Bravo (1990) and Marfil Francke (1990) have also explored the dichotomous view of women in Peru.

[31] Early stories by Arguedas cast doña Caytana in a key mothering role. See *Doña Caytana*, in *Relatos completos*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1987), pp. 43-51. In many ways doña Felipa in *RP* is an extension of this figure which gains mythical dimensions after being pursued by the troops. This evocation of the female at a cosmological plane correlates with previous associations made by Arguedas between a maternal presence and the natural world. See José Luis Rouillón, 'Notas críticas a la obra de José María Arguedas', in *Cuentos olvidados* by José María Arguedas (Lima: Imágenes y letras, 1973), pp. 108-111.

[32] This character also has a recurring role in the early stories and culminates in the figure of doña Marcelina in *RP*.

In a context of diachronism, one can see this patriarchal framework operating in pre-Columbian times, as shown in the first section.[33] Nevertheless, as seen in previous chapters and as will be demonstrated here, Arguedas' characters act within such frameworks in such a way as to redefine or resemanticize traditional roles. In other words, it will be shown that the female characters of *TLS* are able to redefine the traditional Marian or deviant roles ascribed to them by patriarchal conceptual frameworks by simultaneously operating within the latter and within a context of modernity. Like the *mestizo* artisans, *varayoq* or *cholos*, Arguedas' female figures reflect all the heterogeneity and multiplicity of a population in an Andean context which combines traditional identities and roles with new ones as it responds to changing socio-economic and cultural conditions. The coalescence of temporal frameworks in the female figures also makes them synonymous with the *comuneros* in the novel which, as Arguedas has repeatedly pointed out, have been able to respond to external demands whilst retaining vital links with the past. By representing historical continuity through his archetypalizing discourse and attributing his female characters with the symbolic dimensions of this, Arguedas finally creates an archetype of the female.[34]

a. Historicist Images of Women Through the Archetypalizing Discourse

Arguedas' female characters are situated in systems of stratification operating within particular temporal and spatial frameworks. As has been seen, these systems of stratification reflect the fluidity of an increasingly urbanized centre in the Andes, for contact with communication links and markets weakens ethnic and patriarchal lines. This is clearly the case in the unnamed provincial capital and in Lima, where the presence of market women, or *cholas*, and migrants reveals that those frontiers between ethnic groups and between public and private spheres that previously demarcated

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[33] Harris (1978) shows how the Aymara concept of *chachawarmi* acts as an organizing principle where married women are considered socialized, whilst single women are equated with the wild. Silverblatt (1987) also reveals how being married guaranteed access to land and (male) labour for women in pre-Columbian times, thus ensured integration in the *ayllu*. Unmarried women were marginalized from these and, as a result, more prone to acquiring roles in alternative structures.

[34] Arguedas ends up creating an archetype of the feminine by fusing his historicist and archetypalizing discourses in key female figures so that what emerges is in fact an archetype which may also be radically historicized. I have elaborated this concept in a paper published as '(Des-) Construyendo la mujer: etnicidad y género en tres novelas de Arguedas', in *Amor y fuego. José María Arguedas, 25 años después*, ed. by Maruja Martínez and Nelson Manrique (Lima: DESCO, 1995), pp. 199-207.

feminine identities and roles have been redrawn. It is also evident in San Pedro and the neighbouring *haciendas* of La Esperanza and La Providencia, where the characters Matilde, Asunta and Vicenta reflect the socio-economic and cultural heterogeneity of the *vecino* group, the latter comprising *mistis*, *mestizos* and *cholos* with their increasingly plural roles.

Placed within a framework of diachronism, where temporal and spatial lines are no longer fixed but begin to fan out like an expanding circle, identities and roles reveal mind-sets or an adherence to paradigmatic models which, although oppressive in certain circumstances, may also contribute to a discourse of resistance. As has been mentioned, images of women in *TLS* follow dualistic models arising from Judaeo-Christian perceptions of femininity. When these are placed in the context of 'la longue durée' (Braudel 1980, 25), that is, in pre-Columbian and early colonial times, strategies of resistance or responses to patriarchal structures also begin to be evident and these acquire symbolic resonance through time. As Silverblatt (1987) has revealed, by reactualizing or appropriating past identities, roles and paradigmatic models, women, particularly at times of crisis, are not only able to fend off patriarchal attacks to their femininity, but ally themselves with the wider community if it too is under threat.

Arguedas frequently said that *TLS* was the culmination of a literary process which began with *Agua*: 'Concebir esta novela me costó algunos años de meditación. No habría alcanzado a trazar su curso si no hubiera interpretado primero en "Agua" la vida de una aldea; la de una capital de provincia en "Yawar Fiesta;" la de un territorio humano y geográfico más vasto y complejo en "Los ríos profundos."'[35] If *TLS* represents, as Cornejo Polar (1973, 252-255) has also pointed out, a widening of the geocultural panorama which mirrors the changes taking place in the society and economy of the mid 1960s, Flores Galindo (1992, 20-22; 38) has also revealed the importance of Arguedas' anthropological work in this. Taking a comparative approach, as has been shown more recently by Fermín del Pino, Manrique and Montoya,[36] enabled Arguedas not only to widen his geographic horizons, but to explore issues such as *mestizaje* without forfeiting cultural heterogeneity. That one should take Arguedas' anthropological work into

[35] Raúl Vargas, 'Sobre "Todas las sangres"', *Expreso*, 25 March 1965, p. 12.
[36] All at the conference on Arguedas in Lima in November 1994. See *Amor y fuego. José María Arguedas, 25 años después*, ed. by Maruja Martínez and Nelson Manrique (Lima: DESCO, 1995).

account when one explores his conceptualization of women should, therefore, be in no doubt were it not for the apparent absence of such a thematic concern in it. Whilst the anthropological work in Puquio and the Mantaro valley fail to mention the role of women altogether, the thesis on Sayago tends to limit itself to viewing women in conjunction to men, that is, as accessories to activities where men clearly play the dominant role. There are one or two exceptions, however, such as Arguedas' focuses on unmarried women and young girls. Whilst all too brief, these help to shed some light on female configurations in Sayago society and the role of women on the margins of the dominant activities (working the land and tending the cows),[37] and at a symbolic level.

Gender relations in Sayago society, particularly in the realm of labour, revealed some comparisons with Andean communities for Arguedas, although the latter does not say so explicitly. The marital pair functioning as an indivisible unit, with reciprocal yet differentially valued labour duties, parallels some of the points made by Harris (1978) and Silverblatt (1987) about male-female labour relations in the Andes. Meanwhile, the privileging of married women in Sayago, as a means of regulating sexuality in a context where resources (land) are limited,[38] also draws parallels with the southern *sierra* of Peru. The role of single women in both contexts is thus seen as a precarious one when the whole social apparatus is constructed around a married couple's, or indeed married man's, right to communal or private land. The experience of Arguedas' only female informant in Sayago, the owner of the inn in La Muga (Arguedas 1968a, 269), is a case in point, revealing just how closely gender, class and land are linked in the region. The fact that she is widowed and landless (Arguedas 1968a, 269), despite an income from a small business, fixes her position at the lower end of the socio-economic ladder, for being a single woman with no land renders her doubly marginalized. This highlights just how much emphasis is placed on marriage for a woman, a situation one could equate with agrarian societies where management of resources is paramount for survival.

If in Andean Peru this goes hand in hand with pre-Columbian structuring principles, such as *ayni* or *chachawarmi*, one cannot deny the importance of Judaeo-Christian precepts also governing women's identities and roles. According to these,

[37] Obviously amused, Arguedas frequently mentions the Sayago man's apparent preference for his cow over his wife (Arguedas 1968a, 68; 73).
[38] And its opposite, the enforced celibacy of some men (Arguedas 1968a, 296).

women become moral scapegoats for men's wrongdoings and the focus for Christian redemption. As mentioned previously, in Peru, Barrig links this religious conception of women to the emergence of the urban based *civilista* elite whose Positivist endorsement of sexual difference provided a basis for socio-economic role differentiation, such as the sexual division of labour and the distinction between public-productive and private-reproductive spheres (1979, 45-48). Concepts of female chastity were reinforced so that women were seen as repositories of purity and virginity, responsible for the nation's physical and moral well-being. The cult of the married woman (wife/mother) correlated with the phenomenon of *marianismo* where women's passivity and subdual were crystallized in the image of the Mater Dolorosa. The elision between marriage and chastity was made through the elevation of the latter as the model for all women (1979, 57).

In Arguedas' early work, Marian dimensions attributed to women make them simultaneously desired and feared, resulting in inhibition and alienation on the part of the male characters. For the most part the early stories of *AM* deal with unrequited love, where the female presence is too idealized to be attained. This continues in *RP* where enhanced images of women are represented through the eyes of an adolescent. Ernesto, for example, oscillates between feelings of adoration and fear, (white) women seen as fictionalized 'seres lejanos' (p. 75). These women are distanced and idealized through Ernesto's Romantic subjectivity, one which also underscores his view of the natural world at the beginning of the novel, drastically reducing its transformative potential (Rowe 1979, 117-118). In *TLS* a similar process takes place, although the emphasis is now on the magical-religious potential of these identities and roles and their capacity for transformation. By linking certain women, in this case Matilde and Asunta, with natural elements all suggesting distance, isolation and rarity, they become vehicles for the sentiment of *la soledad cósmica* the thematic current running through much post-Hispanic Quechua poetry and songs where the loved one is always perceived as far-off or unobtainable.

This sentiment, coined by Arguedas in his analysis of Quechua poetry,[39] represents, as mentioned briefly in Chapter One, the sense of rupture and isolation, or what Wachtel has called the 'crisis of destructuration' (1977, 205), experienced by native culture in the wake of the Spanish invasion. It is, therefore, a post-Columbian emotion and is distinctly indigenous.[40] Arguedas is keenly aware of its ambivalent implications. Whilst it does express feelings of pain and isolation, it nevertheless acts as a cohesive force, establishing a commonality in suffering which, compared to the *mestizo* community which has no such integrative emotional dynamic, may form the basis for a discourse of resistance. As such it can be highly subversive. That certain women in *TLS* should represent it, through the association with natural elements which represent it in Quechua poetry, for example, comes as no surprise when one takes into account that women, like the Indian community, have also experienced disruption and marginalization, by patriarchal and capitalist forces, and some (white women) more so than others in a *serrano* ethnic context. The fact that these female characters, Matilde and Asunta for example, are attributed with Marian dimensions also reinforces notions of distance and inaccessibility through images of chastity and gives them a public role as vehicles of expiation. This draws a parallel with their representation in Quechua poetry and hymns where a female presence is often equated with consolation and catharsis through shared suffering.[41] On another note, the fact that these women are *vecinas* and are transformed into repositories of what is in essence an indigenous sentiment, suggests a process of 'indigenization' which mirrors that of some of their male counterparts (the *hacendados*) and correlates with Arguedas' aim to present the reader with a vision of diverse cultural allegiances, thereby reversing the image of acculturation represented in much *indigenista* literature.

Matilde, the wife of the *hacendado* don Fermín, is the daughter of a declined aristocratic family from Chiclayo. Her precarious financial background, her marriage to a *serrano* and her transferral to the Andes, testify to her vulnerability and isolation in San

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39 'La soledad cósmica en la poesía quechua', *Idea, Artes y Letras* (Lima), 48-49 (1961a), pp. 1-2.

40 Arguedas distinguishes this sentiment from the *mestizo* community's which, stemming in modern times from migration, is probably more acute since it is experienced on an individual level: 'La soledad ha dejado de ser cósmica. No viene ya como de la sombra del universo agobiando a todos por igual; el destino se ha diversificado...cada quien se defiende como puede y el uno mira al otro como a un destino diferente' (ibid.).

41 José María Arguedas, 'La literatura quechua en el Perú', *Mar del Sur (Lima)*, 1 (1948a), 46-54; José María Arguedas, 'Los himnos quechuas católicos cuzqueños', *Folklore Americano*, 3 (1955a), 3-48.

Pedro society. By equating her with images from the Andes associated with purity and rarity, or inaccessibility: 'la nieve de nuestras montañas, como la flor blanca que en esas alturas crece, purísima' (p. 101) and the 'flor de achank'aray...Crece junto a la nieve, pues, en lo alto' (p. 168), Rendón and the other *comuneros* turn her into a symbol of *la soledad cósmica* through an emotional affinity which grows as the novel advances. The rare mountain flowers, therefore, reflect her socio-cultural particularity and solitariness, the fact that she is a *vecina* from the coast making her a peripheral character in the *sierra*. Matilde herself, consciously or unconsciously, is aware of this, associating herself with a European image of women which further emphasizes her geocultural separation from the Andean world (p. 74). Whereas this character is a symbol of idealized yet for some, such as don Fermín, attainable love, Asunta represents an altogether more distant and unattainable image of femininity. Her insecure social standing as the daughter of an impoverished *vecino*, don Ricardo, is compounded by the fact that she is unmarried and forced to earn her living from a corner shop, transforming her into a marginal figure having breached local *vecino* mores. The fact that she is proud and rejects her suitors, meanwhile, correlates with the sense of honour shared by the *vecinos*, so that social honour linked to sexual chastity fosters the image of her as pure and inaccessible. Compared, like Matilde, to images from the natural world such as birds, snow and mountains: 'Asunta, paloma blanca, dorada, estás muy lejos. Como la nieve que el amanecer cubre la yerba, te deshaces para mí. Como el crepúsculo rojo sobre la inalcanzable nieve iluminas' (p. 92), the love of Gregorio and Perico thus remains unrequited. Although, as in *RP*, this may lead to a non-indigenous or *mestizo* sentiment where love or grief is experienced as a subjective emotion,[42] it does not diminish the image of the woman as a transcendental symbol of (communal) *soledad*, particularly as Asunta's future actions testify.

Returning to the case of Matilde, images representing her as the embodiment of *la soledad cósmica* run alongside a Judaeo-Christian framework which casts her in a Marian role. Don Fermín reveals this explicitly, rigidly defining her femininity within his patriarchal 'culto a la mujer' (p. 78) outlook, which rests not only on a religiously

[42]This is witnessed in Gregorio's songs, as mentioned in Chapter One.

inspired mind-set, but on a *civilista* political discourse mentioned by Barrig (1979, 45-48). As such, his attitude towards his wife belies not only a masculine but a social or class desire to control femininity and its emotive dimensions: 'No quisiera cambiarla. ¿Pero si sigue lloriqueando?...La dejaré de querer y aún de apetecer. La mujer triste no incita nada en el hombre sano y de empresa. Si tiene penas, debe sepultarlas; es la ley del señorío' (p. 280). This image of social constraint correlates with the notion of unadulterated sexuality or chastity which femininity is expected to represent. White, blonde and ethereal, the *vecina* woman comes to represent an ideal of womanhood, untainted by the corrupting effects of sex and childbearing. Matilde's physical role as a mother is thus played down as she is described as having a 'fino cuerpo' (p. 161) despite the fact that she has had three children. When she begins to acquire these dimensions for the Indian community, however, Rendón referring to her as: 'tan perfecta como la Virgen patrona de la hacienda' (p. 143), her hands described as 'como de iglesia' (p. 82), she begins to take on a new role which transcends the Judaeo-Christian model ascribed to her by her husband. This correlates with the link made in Quechua poetry between femininity as an unobtainable ideal and a vehicle for Marian consolation. Matilde's transformation begins when she manifests her own emotions, that is when she reveals to herself and others, such as Cabrejos, her personal, or private, life.

Matilde claims that the vicissitudes suffered by her family have sharpened her sensibility (p. 76). If suffering heightens perception this is, as seen, accentuated by her present isolation in the *sierra*. Qualities such as perception or intuition, are thus strengthened by personal experience, but they are also equated with inherently feminine qualities by Matilde. 'Corazón' and 'pálpito' (p. 77), equated with intuition, in this case female, are counterpoised against cynicism and calculation (p. 77) and not only serve to undermine Cabrejos, but to reveal to Matilde her own identity and role in the *sierra* through her emotional allegiance with the *comuneros*.[43] The transformation of Matilde from a western image of emotional and social constraint to one capable of revealing and 'consolidating' sentiments, more in line with the Marian images represented in post-

[43] As seen in the previous chapter, the notion of *corazón* is also linked to *alma* and thus to a Mariátegui-inspired concept of 'yo profundo' (1987, 23). Hugo Blanco's letters to Arguedas also suggest this concept is embodied in the *comunero*. See José María Arguedas, 'Correspondencia entre Hugo Blanco y José María Arguedas', *Amaru*, 11 (1969), 12-15.

Hispanic Quechua poetry and hymns, comes about through her association with the concept of *illas*.

By equating Matilde's eyes with the image of the *illas*, fragments of rock broken by lightening which acquire magical dimensions,[44] Matilde begins to attain some of the latter's qualities. This is achieved through an analogous logic, what Lévi-Strauss (1989a, 1) calls 'the science of the concrete', revealing the presence of alternative thought processes in the *sierra*, which works on the basis of the shared colour of Matilde's eyes and the stones, both radiating light rather than a defined colour, as Cabrejos reveals: 'unas piedras verdosas, de un verde...no definido' (p. 75). By fusing elements of water and light in both the *illas* and the eyes, the latter obtain revelatory and purifying qualities so that ultimately they perform a cathartic role for Matilde's interlocutors, as don Anatolio in Lima witnesses: 'De veras, sus ojos color de piedra alaymosca acariciaban con hondura' (p. 347).

The transformative influence Matilde acquires over those who come into contact with her, particularly Cabrejos and Rendón who are deeply unsettled by her presence, is, as mentioned, in part due to the fact that she herself becomes increasingly capable of openly manifesting her sentiments and of evolving from the image of female constraint initially expected of and embraced by her. The public display of emotion at Gregorio's funeral literally 'frees' the *comuneros* to do the same, breaking the mould of social control, 'K'oyowasi no logró contenerse, y se puso a sollozar. Otros colonos se contagarion' (p. 143), and consolidating a sense of affinity between Matilde and the *comuneros*. This goes hand in hand with Matilde's transformation into an indigenous Marian figure with which the *comuneros* empathize and through whom they are able to purge their sufferings, as don Bruno's *mayordomo* confirms: 'sólo vio a una señora tan perfecta como la Virgen patrona de la hacienda; vio que sus ojos derramaban lágrimas tristes' (p. 143). Matilde's sensibility and her ability to reveal it, therefore, flout the convention of bourgeois restraint represented by her class and her husband and, more subversively, establishes a link, through intuition or the imagination, qualities associated by Matilde with femininity and by Arguedas with the Indian community, with the

[44] See the opening paragraph of Chapter Six of *RP* (p. 65) for an explanation of this concept and its phonetic connection with *yllu*, denoting sound.

comuneros. What is witnessed here is a case of cultural or religious appropriation where Indians adopt Catholic images and resemanticize them, whilst Matilde operates inside a Judaeo-Christian framework to redefine or reorient the identity and role determined for her by society. Ultimately, this gives her and the *comuneros* a sense of cultural autonomy since they both redefine roles in accordance with their own priorities, in this case, affinity in suffering and the consolidation of communal ties.

The emotional rapport between Matilde and the *comuneros* culminates in the former's encounter with the Lahuaymarcas. Escorted by Rendón and the *comuneros* to their *ayllu*, Matilde begins to acquire a new perception of reality: 'un sentimiento nuevo, un modo diferente de apreciar el aspecto tumultuoso y silente de ese mundo' (pp. 169-170), viewing her surroundings through the prism of an indigenous cosmology in which she herself is now firmly rooted: 'la montaña admirada de los indios repite mis palpitaciones, a tanta distancia' (p. 170). This reciprocity between herself and the natural elements is mirrored by the affinity she has established with the *comuneros*. As in Gregorio's funeral, Matilde's affinity with the Indians is consolidated by a shared perception of mutual suffering: 'he sufrido. Ellos lo intuyen' (p. 349). The growing receptivity towards the Indian community and her changing perceptions of her surroundings (an Andean cosmology) distances Matilde from don Fermín, paradoxically reinforcing the image of female inaccessibility attributed to her by him,[45] although of course by this stage this is more in line with images of inaccessibility evoked by *la soledad cósmica*. In other words, as Matilde distances herself from don Fermín she moves closer towards the Indian community, now operating within the parameters of *la soledad cósmica*. In many ways, therefore, Matilde has exchanged one framework (the Judaeo-Christian) for another (the indigenous), using it as a framing device within which she can redefine her role.

Where Matilde represents the transition from private (wife; mother; inner emotional life) to public sphere (alliance with wider community through *la soledad cósmica*; more open emotional life), whilst all the while operating within a framework determining her role along Marian lines, Asunta coincides with Matilde in her

[45] The fact that don Fermín and Matilde's love scenes convey none of the sensuality of those between don Bruno and Vicenta helps to reinforce the image of bourgeois constraint represented by them in the novel. See, for example, p. 238.

association with images of inaccessibility and chastity, but differs from her in one important aspect. As an unmarried woman and on the periphery of the socio-economic and cultural system, she is capable of more radical action. Elevated to a symbolic status by the archetypalizing discourse of the Indians' *la soledad cósmica* and by the *vecinos* who see her moral singularity, or purity, as the embodiment of their honour, she acquires the role of defending the values held by the local community. This begins by her publicly denouncing Brañes in the *cabildo* meeting and transgressing the gendered code of conduct defined by her father as: 'sólo los hombres tienen derecho a lanzar acusaciones' (p. 152). This incident confirms her role in stirring the consciences of the *vecino* community and encouraging other *vecina* women to follow her example. As doña Adelaide reveals, the growing public role of Asunta and now herself, overturns the male-female, public-private dichotomy determining sexual roles: 'Váyanse a sus casas, señores, que aquí hay sólo dos varones: Asunta y yo!' (p. 153).[46] What is more, Asunta's open accusation coming as it does with the appearance of the 'gavilán' (p. 153), bears all the weight of a 'spiritual' pronouncement, true strength now equated with the *apus*[47] whilst the *vecinos* who do not ascribe to this order, are diminished.

Ironically, *vecina* women such as Asunta who have transcended the female-male divide governing sex roles, are now closer to this order than their male counterparts. In fact, as in the case of Matilde, actions by Asunta are now paralleled by events at a cosmological level, so that as she speaks at the *cabildo*, her words gain authority from their association with natural elements denoting fecundity: 'el sol crepuscular doraba todas las cosas...doraba las ramas secas de los arbustos que, así agonizantes, se encendían a esa hora...Asunta hablaba cada vez con más energía' (p. 217). Asunta is not only implicitly equated with images usually representing masculinity, such as the sun and *apus*, but with the purifying powers of these, as don Fermín suggests: '¡Asunta, flor de los cielos; tu alma se parece a este sol que está purificando al mundo...¡Ahí está tu

[46] Sara Castro Klarén describes the subversive role of these women as they challenge previously held notions of sexuality: 'aunque anticuadas, se adhieren a la conciencia que tienen de sí, a un sistema de valores más allá de la vida diaria, más allá de creencias fosilizadas o convenencias del momento. En este sentido son varones no machos, es decir que tienen un lugar en el mundo, en su conciencia de ser y por eso se rebelan ante quienes quieren reducir su ser a un mero pago' (1973, 162).

[47] In her endeavour to show that the nature ('wild') - culture ('civilized') dichotomy does not automatically correspond to a female-male duality, Harris reveals the masculine identity of certain elements in the Andean cosmology, such as mountain peaks, associated with the 'wild' (1992, 91).

pureza!' (p. 218).[48] The denunciation of Brañes which culminates in the killing of Cabrejos, thus becomes an act of catharsis, purging San Pedro of the moral corruption brought by the new socio-economic regime. That only a woman appears to be capable of such an action is due to the fact that only she is considered 'pure' or chaste enough to do so: 'así los matamos. No los hombres, amigos, que ya no sirven porque la miseria los ha malogrado en San Pedro. ¡Las mujeres!' (p. 367). This ultimate act of communal 'purification' also has therapeutic powers on an individual level, curing Hidalgo's lack of vision by making him aware of the capacity of the *serrano* culture to defy external threats (p. 378).[49]

Representing the oppressed yet resistant *sierra* alongside Bellido, Asunta's stature grows as she is transformed into a Marian figure, a 'santa' (p. 391), by the *vecino* popular imagination. Her capacity to take a public role in the defence of justice and her transformation into a symbol of the community, triggers off a sequence of actions in secondary female characters who, by defying their husbands, like Asunta challenge a (patriarchal) status quo which not only oppresses them, but their male counterparts too. Don Ricardo's wife cries out against the *vecinos* at doña Rosario's funeral, whilst Guadalupe, El Gálico's wife, defies her wife beating husband and after his suicide speaks out in the *cabildo* about the need to defend La Esmeralda (p. 362). Like Asunta, she comes to embody a higher source of justice, represented in cosmological terms: 'En sus ojos podía verse el Pukasira sin adornos' (p. 364).[50] The emergence of *Pukasira* as an alternative power symbol in San Pedro, as seen in Chapters Two and Three, contributes to the restoration of the *ayllu* by the *colonos* of La Providencia. Whilst the latter are headed by Rendón in *varayoq* mode, this is directly complemented by the role of Vicenta who presides over their transition to autonomy.

Vicenta's ethnic identity as a *mestiza*, her 'disinterested' love for don Bruno (p. 191) and her maternal role, make her a prototype of virginal motherhood in the *sierra*: 'Una mestiza hermosa, embarazada' (p. 190). 'Purifying' don Bruno of his sexual

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[48] This echoes the description of doña Felipa's countenance in *RP* as 'poderoso como el sol de mediodía' (p. 159).

[49] Hidalgo provides a link between the *comuneros* and the coast, designed to foster a nationalist alliance of forces against imperialist powers in the country. Manrique (1995a) reveals Arguedas' nationalism at the time *YS* was written by highlighting his growing role in public life.

[50] Here again, the mountain imagery has masculine connotations.

profligacy by bearing him a child, she symbolically delivers the *hacienda-ayllu* Pukasira to Rendón in don Bruno's absence. Her public role in this oversteps previously demarcated gender boundaries on the *hacienda*, whilst this is paralleled in the private sphere by her newly acquired double (paternal and maternal) role towards her son (p. 434). The *ayllu's* reconstitution, under the name *hacienda Pukasira*, is equated with a carrying out of justice and, once again as in the case of Asunta and Matilde, associated with an act of purification. Like the two women before her, Vicenta's personal experience of suffering, in this case stemming from the fact that she is a *mestiza* (p. 432), establishes an empathy with the *comuneros* which reinforces her role at an extrapersonal level: 'Tú has devuelto sus conciencias al señor don Bruno, porque has sufrido, y el padecimiento te ha santificado...Ahora somos comunidad grande' (p. 451). The images of 'acero puro' and 'flor de pensamientos' (p. 433) evoked in Vicenta by don Bruno, reflecting simultaneous compassion and fortitude, is a duality embodied in many of Arguedas' female characters operating at this archetypal level, pointing to their ability to transcend frameworks which operate on a dichotomous basis.[51]

The female characters in *TLS* reveal their capacity for defiance on an individual level, but as collective protagonists, *cholas*, *mestizas* and *comuneras*, they reveal a potential for active resistance which pushes back the frontiers between public and private even further and consolidates their position as guardians of the subaltern group of which they are part. Their leadership role in rebellion is confirmed in intermittent sequences throughout the novel. During the trial of the *varayoq* of Paraybamba in the capital of the province, it is the *mestizas* or *cholas*, one woman is described as 'una verdadera mestiza, de traje corto, de seda brillante' (p. 307) who retaliate when the soldiers attempt to disperse the crowd. As in the case of Asunta and doña Adelaide, the juxtaposition between the women's audacity and the men's cowardice overturns established gender patterns of behaviour: whilst the women 'avanzaron gritando' (p. 307), the men 'escaparon en silencio' (p. 307). The *cholas'* action is pivotal since by showing solidarity

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[51] That this should stem from or culminate in the image of Sybila Arredondo in Arguedas' personal life is in no doubt, particularly if one reads the recently published letters addressed to Murra (e.g. Murra and López-Baralt 1996, 167). This ambivalent image of femininity may also link up with the early maternal figure of doña Caytana who evokes both vulnerability and resolve, being 'de carácter muy tierno y humilde' and 'muy independiente y cumplidora', *Doña Caytana*, in *Relatos completos*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1987), pp. 43-51 (p. 44).

with the underdog, the *varayoq* and thus the Indian community,[52] they mobilize a force of *mestizos* and *vecinos hambrientos* behind them (p. 311-312).[53] This graphic portrayal of *cholas* rallying behind the *varayoq* and Indian community, is paralleled in another episode where migrant women, *mestizas* and poor *vecinas*, defend their community, a shanty town in Lima, in the face of soldiers sent in by local landowners who want to reclaim their land. The women compete with their dogs in the ferocity with which they put up a fight: 'ya no podían morder ni prenderse de los estribos' (p. 351). When their husbands return in the evening, the women have resumed their domestic duties, revealing the ease with which they combine activities in public and private spheres: 'Al anochecer, cuando llegaron los hombres que trabajaban en la ciudad, encontraron decenas de perros muertos en as "calles." Las mujeres seguían con los ojos hinchados y enrojecidos. Pero la magra comida estaba hecha' (pp. 351-352). The defence of community is for them part of the daily routine that survival has become.

The revolt of these *mestiza* women who ally themselves with their communities through their maternal roles, culminates in the image of *comuneras* defending their *ayllus* towards the close of the novel. If work is seen as a metaphor, or framing device, for continuous resistance, as seen in Chapters Two and Three where men are organized into work units in order to stake a claim over the land, women play an integral part in this, working alongside their male counterparts in *ayni* mode. Here the differential value attributed to their work, highlighted by Harris (1978), is diminished by the complementary nature of their contribution, seen as necessary for the functioning of the labour unit and by extension the defence of the land. When the soldiers are sent to Paraybamba to take reprisals for Cisnero's whipping, the *comuneros* are out working in the fields. Their work is accompanied by a *wanka*, sung by unmarried women which enhances the ritual nature of the work.[54] In fact, the song directly complements the

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[52] Seligmann (1993) reveals how *cholas* usually side with the Indian community from which they have emerged. Like the *cholos*, they are closer to the *comuneros* than the *mestizos* who usually take sides with the *vecinos*. This, of course, is not always so straightforward, as Arguedas reveals in *YT* where the *cholos'* and *mestizos'* allegiances depend on exposure to external influences.

[53] This can be seen as a direct echo of the revolt of the *chicheras* in *RP* which gives impetus to the *colonos'* uprising at the end of the novel. As in *TLS*, this first expression of social protest comes from the ethnically mixed Huanupata district and is undertaken by women who, as a collective group, come to challenge the prevailing status quo.

[54] As Gose states, the *wanka* has its origins in pre-Columbian times and constitutes a fertility rite in which 'undomesticated sexuality', represented by the unmarried women, is transformed into 'agricultural fertility' through the men's work (1994, 273).

male task of ploughing, the latter taking place during the rainy season when the departed souls of the dead are re-evoked. As Gose (1994, 113; 137) and Harris (1992, 81) have pointed out, the dead are considered a source of fertility, their incorporation into the living community through work seen to be essential for the *ayllu's* prosperity.[55] Denied a significant voice on public occasions such as *cabildo* meetings, *comunero* women become vehicles of a symbolic discourse which is essential for the functioning of the ritual cycle (Harris 1992, 72-77).

In the context of the novel, and as mentioned in Chapter Two, the song crucially detains the soldiers, arousing memories of the past directly associated with their *ayllus*: 'se quedaron detenidos un buen rato. Esa faena y el canto les recordaba su infancia' (p. 299).[56] The intervention of the past here, establishes a temporal (and spatial) continuity through the image of the *ayllu* which is seen as vital for fostering a sense of millenarian resistance in the *comuneros*, whilst the evocation of a land base (the *ayllu*) gives this resistance a strong ethnic dimension. When the troops get round to shooting they are struck by the impassivity of the *comuneros*, particularly the women who, once again, due to their public role in the singing and their defiance of the soldiers, have transcended or overturned traditional concepts of femininity rooted in the private sphere: '¡Más hombres! ¡Las mujeres!' (p. 299). This scene culminates at the close of the novel in a *comunera's* attempts to defend a young boy from being shot by appealing to her maternal status, defining herself as a 'mujer con hijos' (p. 455). The sacrificial image of maternity is accentuated by Arguedas in the description of her dead body, which like that of Rendón after her, is directly equated with the *pisonay*, a metaphor for the life cycle of the *ayllu*: 'las flores del pisonay fueron arrastradas por el viento. Y todos vieron que eran opacas y sedosas junto al color de la sangre de esa mujer con hijos' (p. 455).

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[55] This, as Gose reveals, establishes *ayni* or reciprocity between the living and the dead, necessary since through it the living *comuneros* are able to harness the energy, or *ánimo*, of the dead (1994, 113; 137).

[56] This echoes Arguedas' description of the sowing ritual, performed in the half light of the moon or at early dawn and in the presence of women singing in a high-pitched and penetrating tone, in 'Ritos de la siembra' (repr. in Arguedas 1989b, 76-77).

b. Alternative Strategies of Resistance

A recurrent theme in Arguedas' accounts of his writing is the desire to represent life in the *sierra* as he had experienced it and in this he ceaselessly differentiates one geocultural region from another. What comes across repeatedly in these descriptions is the severity of socio-economic and cultural conditions in the south compared to those of the north. On one occasion, Arguedas cites a case which represents in a graphic form some of those elements distinguishing the two regions:

> Hace relativamente poco, alrededor de 1958, un señor...Julio Romanville, fue a visitar su hacienda, una inmensa hacienda del valle de la Convención...los indios se prosternaron y le besaron las manos, como es tradicional en los siervos. Pero una mujer no acató esa tradición y Romanville ordenó que le cortaran el brazo. Después se descubrió que la mujer no había besado las manos del señor porque era idiota.[57]

That this episode shook Arguedas is in no doubt, but what is also evident is his use of it as a means of defending, particularly in the *Mesa redonda* on *TLS*, his portrayal of life in the *sierra*: 'Es un cuadro histórico que está ahí, en *Todas las sangres*' (Arguedas 1985, 46). The quote reveals the persistence of feudal type structures of power in certain regions of the *sierra* where the *hacendado* has 'absolute', socio-economic and spiritual, control over the local population and the latter is forced to occupy a peripheral position in that power structure.

As has been mentioned in the previous section, the role of intuition in the work of Arguedas is central for synthesizing experience and creating symbols. That there should be an implicit equating of female characters with the Indian population comes as no surprise when one takes into account the heavily patriarchal nature of *gamonalismo*, to which both men and women fall victim, and the marginalization of both groups by it. One female character which plays a recurring role and on which the enigmatic *kurku* in *TLS* may be seen to be based, is *la opa*, the mentally impaired domestic servant of

57 'La literatura peruana', *Coral*, 13 (1970), 47-53. This anecdote is repeated in the *Mesa redonda* on *TLS* (Arguedas 1985, 45-46). Nelson Manrique cites another case which was also used by Arguedas to represent the nature of *gamonalismo* as he had known it (1995b, 6).

Arguedas' early stories who culminates in the figure of doña Marcelina, ritually abused by the schoolboys in *RP*. The very positing of this figure alongside others such as Salvinia, Alcira, 'la niña de Saisa' in *RP*, or Matilde and Asunta in *TLS* who, as has been seen, are idealized and distanced, testifies to the persistence of ethnic criteria in determining the status of women in Andean society. That *la opa* and *la kurku* are ethnically ambiguous, *mestizas* or *cholas* rather than *vecinas* or *comuneras*, is essentially due to their low socio-economic positions as domestic servants and their separation from the endogamous kinship structures of the *ayllu*. Unlike the *mestizas* in urban centres who acquire social mobility through their work, these figures, inscribed in the framework of the *hacienda*, experience no such room for manoeuvre. Like the landless or 'orphaned' *colonos* and *pongos*, their very socio-economic and cultural survival is contingent upon the local *hacendado*. Nevertheless, by representing them as *mestizas* or *cholas*, due to their socio-economic positions, Arguedas reveals the prevalence of ethnic over racial criteria in evaluating identities and roles in the Andean region.

The condition of double marginalization suffered by these women, gender and ethnicity separating them from the dominant stratum in the system of stratification, places them on the boundaries of what Jean Franco calls the 'broad master narratives and symbolic systems of society' (1989, xii), such as religion, nationalism and modernization. Being ethnically ambiguous and situated on the margins of hegemonic socio-economic and cultural structures however, they nevertheless acquire pivotal roles, able to move from one socio-cultural realm to another, so that like certain *comunera* or *vecina* women they are able to link their personal experiences to those of a wider community which shares their experiences. The fact that these women are unmarried but are still able to exercise maternal roles as defenders of the community and repositories of ethnic identity, points to the intervention of the symbolic, or more specifically the popular imagination, which, particularly in times of crisis, mobilizes female roles and mothering images for resistance. In other words, *la opa* and *la kurku* come to embody the suffering of the wider community at the hands of a patriarchal colonial regime, their lack of a maternal role in the material sphere releasing them for activity in this symbolic realm. Like Silverblatt's (1987) priestesses and witches, these characters act as autochthonous Marian figures simultaneously consoling the

community and channelling a sense of resistance, often through ancient *huacas*. Like the figure of the servant in Arguedas' *El sueño del pongo*,[58] the extremity of their affliction radicalizes their discourse of resistance so that, as in the case of the *pongo* one year later, concepts of indigenous justice based on *pachacuti*, or reversal, begin to emerge as a means of redressing the balance between contenders.

La kurku, a mute and immobile figure in a novel dominated by short dramatic sequences where dialogue and action predominate over interior monologues and narrative description, rendered 'invisible', as Silverblatt (1987, 202) would say, by the dominant (male) characters, poses a serious problem to conceptualization. This, as has been mentioned, is due to the fact that like *la opa* she straddles two socio-cultural and symbolic spheres. The Judaeo-Christian conceptual framework posits her as a 'deviant' female in contradistinction to Matilde et al. whose sanctity is preserved at her expense. In an Andean framework, this concept of 'deviancy', to which female sexuality is relegated in the Christian sphere, is framed by the nature-culture dichotomy which places unmarried women outside the world of the socialized.[59] The intersection of these two evaluative systems in the figure of the *la kurku* ultimately makes her a figure with which both the *vecino* and *comunero* community come to identify. Through a process of *pachacuti, la kurku* attains the Marian dimensions of her predecessors Matilde, Asunta or Vicenta, metamorphosing from a figure of contamination, or deviancy, and 'wildness', into a Mater Dolorosa or priestess, a repository of autochthonous identity and a focus for the emotional energy of the community.[60] The Quechua Catholic hymns and local folklore[61] which Arguedas collected and studied reveal the predominance of themes concerning condemnation and salvation where 'indigenized' Marian figures and *condenados*, or *almas en pena*, act as vehicles for communal suffering, *la soledad cósmica*,

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[58] *El sueño del pongo*, in *Relatos completos*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1987), pp. 229-237.

[59] As seen previously, the Aymara concept of *chachawarmi* acts as an organizing principle where married and unmarried women are clearly demarcated along socio-economic and cosmological lines. Whereas the unmarried woman suffers none of the religious condemnation of the Judaeo-Christian ethos, she is situated on the periphery of the socialized (Harris 1978).

[60] The duality basis on which these conceptual frameworks operate: Marian v. deviant; married ('socialized') v. unmarried ('wild'), is thus subverted. As witnessed in the previous section, these dichotomies are overturned by working within the conceptual frameworks themselves, that is, by appropriating roles (Marian roles, for example) and resemanticizing them.

[61] I am thinking primarily of *La literatura quechua en el Perú* (Arguedas 1948a); *Folklore del valle del Mantaro* (Arguedas 1953a); *Los himnos quechuas católicos cuzqueños* (Arguedas 1955a) and *Cuentos religioso-mágicos quechuas de Lucanamarca* (Arguedas 1960-1961).

and catharsis. These hymns and stories offer valuable contributions to the analysis of the identity and role of *la kurku* in *TLS*.

Firstly, however, the anthropological work. As mentioned, the ethnographic accounts of Puquio and the Mantaro valley give very few references to the position of women in their societies, the thesis on Sayago revealing more than these put together themes related to women, such as the sexual division of labour and access to land. In a rural society these issues are of crucial importance since, as has been seen in Chapter Two, land and labour configurations underscore one's socio-economic and cultural position in the local system of stratification. The thesis also reveals just how closely the management of economic resources (land) shapes attitudes towards sexuality and fertility. As in the Andes, the economic system operates on the basis of a married couple's right to land. Unlike in the Peruvian *sierra*, however, Sayago's limited land base, or the disproportionate relationship between land and the adult (male) population, has given rise to a means of demographic control which at first seems somewhat retrograde but soon appears to make economic sense: the enforced celibacy of a proportion of the adult male population.[62] Linking marriage to access to land becomes a means of regulating local resources and avoiding too much subdivision of the land (p. 296). If this is the way adult male sexuality is regulated, female sexuality is controlled through less overt methods: a religious mind-set which condemns women who have been abandoned by their lovers to a lifetime of being single. As a 'deshonrada' (p. 148), the condition is irreversible and the guilt indisputable (p. 149). What the woman is experiencing, therefore, is socio-economic marginalization bolstered by a suffocating religious ethic so that as well as being 'una marginada social' she also becomes 'una especie de "maldita"' or 'una muerta en vida' (p. 139).

In many ways, the case of the 'deshonradas' mirrors that of the 'solteros', enforced celibacy to protect resources, but the fact that women, unlike their male counterparts, also suffer moral condemnation points to the patriarchal nature of evaluative systems which discriminate against them. The situation is more extreme in Bermillo, where land is in short (or unequal) supply due to the greater number of

[62] As Arguedas witnesses, Sayago society abounds with bachelors, so much so that their number exceeds that of married men (Arguedas 1968a, 37).

señoritos who monopolize it. The poorer a woman, the more irrevocable her condition if she is a 'deshonrada'. This contrasts with La Muga where such a woman may marry if her father owns a lot of land (p. 270). Arguedas' thesis on Sayago reveals, therefore, the inextricability of local economic structures (the material) and mind-sets (the spiritual or symbolic) in regulating the roles of men and women in an agrarian society. Parallels may be found in Andean Peru, as seen in the first section, organizing principles such as *ayni* and *chachawarmi* controlling access to land, particularly that of women, through institutions such as marriage. When the mentality in question is religiously inspired, women are also morally evaluated. On the other hand, as has been witnessed, roles constructed by Judaeo-Christian or pre-Columbian conceptual frameworks also offer women a certain amount of leverage so that in many instances they may reverse these conditions.

Taking the religiously inspired Judaeo-Christian framework as a starting point offers a useful point of entry into the study of *la kurku* as character and social actor. Don Bruno's sexual conduct at the beginning of the novel and that of other *hacendados* such as Cisneros may reveal the moral corruption caused by the colonial *latifundia* system, but it also highlights a religious mentality endorsing a dual image of femininity, as don Bruno's words testify: 'La mujer fue creada para calmar o espolear al hombre' (p. 116). If Vicenta clearly represents the former, *la kurku* becomes a model of 'deviancy', incarnating the transgressive nature of carnal desire for the male characters in the novel. For don Bruno she is thus simultaneously repellent and alluring: '¡Flor horrible, llena de dulzura!' (p. 211), so that soon she is equated with temptation and sin, morally responsible for his wrongdoings: '¡Kurka Gertrudis, tú eras el demonio, no yo!' (p. 35).[63] Widening this concept out, in a context of colonialism transgressive acts against the 'deviant' female or colonized subject are ultimately sanctioned by a religious ethos which underscores the regime.

If the figure of the 'deviant' female is placed alongside that of the unmarried woman which, according to Andean precepts, is equated with unsocialized patterns of

[63] Don Bruno's actions are paralleled by the conduct of the schoolboys in *RP*. Because of the repressed or forbidden nature of their desire, the boys' attitude towards *la opa* becomes one of extreme violence verging on sadism (pp. 51-52). This is echoed throughout Arguedas' work, where men irrevocably fall victim to violent sexual urges, tellingly expressed by don Aparicio in *DP*: 'Por qué será, don Mariano? Mis mujeres no me dan tranquilidad' (p. 11).

behaviour, a more composite image of *la kurku* begins to emerge. *La kurku* is unmarried and unable to conceive because of her physical condition as a hunchback. This denial of a maternal role takes on ontological significance in the popular imagination: 'Las kurkus no pueden parir' (p. 54), denying her a role in the domestic sphere as wife and mother, as confirmed by Anto: 'No vas a ser mi mujer; no puedes' (p. 53). The representation of a female character in the novel which does not follow any of the sex role patterns of the society in which she lives begins to acquire cosmological significance, however, through an Andean discourse in which the boundaries between social and cosmological spheres are suspended. In fact, *la kurku's* very identity and role from her first appearance in the novel are paralleled on the cosmological plane, so that her social marginalization is translated into images which equate her with the asocial or 'wild'. The description of her miscarriage in mythical terms: 'parió un condenado; un feto muerto y con cerdas' (p. 25), moreover reveals the confluence of Catholic and indigenous precepts in the Andean framework, where notions of the wild are also equated with sin or transgression. Relating *la kurku* to the concept of the *condenado,* however, ultimately potentiates her role at the symbolic level as will be seen.

First of all, however, *la kurku's* position at the lowest stratum of society, being unmarried, landless and 'maldita', by Sayago standards, due to her rape, miscarriage and abandonment, is revealed by associating her with images from the natural world representing primordial animal forms of life: 'Parecía una hormiga' (p. 36); 'como si tuviera más de dos pies' (p. 54); 'su cuerpo...como gusano' (p. 54), all this accentuated by her posture (her hunchback). As the servant of doña Adelaide, *la kurku* is confined to a domestic sphere, gender compounding ethnicity in restricting her mobility. This, and the severing of her filial ties when she is taken in at a young age (p. 54), means that her social status and role are defined entirely by doña Rosario, revealing the pyramidal structure of power on which the *hacienda* is based and the way in which its discourse is internalized by both women. Conditioned by a culture of obedience and firmly enclosed within the private sphere, literally bounded by the *hacienda, la kurku* cannot conceive an alternative role, as she reveals to Anto: 'Yo no sé sembrar. ¡Soy kurku! Lavar, hilar, acompañar a la señora vieja no más sé' (p. 53).

The extremity of this situation and the denial of a role which socializes her precludes the development of an orthodox Christian sensibility and it is here that one gets the first indication of this figure being equated with the concept of *la soledad cósmica*. When Anto tells her to pray for the dead don Andrés, *la kurku* reveals her inability to do so: 'No sé...Yo soy de ella, tú del caballero' (p. 22), questioning the very nature of God: '¿Quién es Dios? ¿Quién es?' (p. 53). When Anto's answers: 'el Dios del gran patrón que ha muerto. Está en la iglesia' (p. 53), her reply is simply: 'Yo no sé. Yo no salgo' (p. 54). Significantly, God is equated with a public realm which *la kurku*, isolated from it, has no knowledge of. That this God and this realm are associated with a male sphere of influence is also implicit, since it is men, like Anto, who enjoy access to them. Access to God is thus gendered by association with the public-private dichotomy which determines male and female roles within a Judaeo-Christian framework. From this, it can be assumed that the concept of *la soledad cósmica* is also experienced differentially by male and female characters, as it is between different Indian communities as seen in Chapter Two. That women should be identified with it more than men, and some women more than others, has much to do with their socio-economic and cultural positions in the power structure and their ability to operate within an archetypalizing discourse and symbolic order to reverse these.

La kurku's position at the lowest end of the socio-economic ladder is, as seen, paralleled on the cosmological plain by images with associate her with low forms of life. Unlike Matilde and Asunta who are represented through metaphors from Quechua poetry and Quechua Catholic hymns, such as birds, flowers and mountains, all equating femininity with the absent loved one, *la kurku's* associations dehumanize her so that initially she appears as the very antithesis of this model. This is in line with the Judaeo-Christian framework which casts her in the role of the corrupting female figure, but it also links up with the image of the *condenado* which reflects a fusion of Catholic and pre-Columbian outlooks. In 1953 and from 1960 to 1961, Arguedas published two studies of folklore from the Mantaro valley (the Jauja and Concepción provinces).[64] In the first, he links the emergence of the stories to the process of transculturation undergone in the

[64] See *Folklore del valle del Mantaro* (Arguedas 1953a) and *Cuentos religioso-mágicos quechuas de Lucanamarca* (Arguedas 1960-1961). These studies were accompanied by the stories themselves which appeared in bilingual form, translated from the Quechua by Arguedas.

Mantaro region with the latter's high level of bilingualism and large number of small landowners and semi-proletarianized workers (Arguedas 1953a, 110). The stories are seen to have deviated from their European bases, constituting a post-colonial response to the present regime by reflecting its atrocities and offering the possibility of release from them. The second study, which includes a collection of stories from Lucanamarca (in the province of Jauja), focuses on the *condenado* as a figure who, like the *alma en pena*, has broken social taboos (through rape, incest or murder) and expiates his sin through anthropophagy or cannibalism.[65]

The association with the *alma en pena* reveals an indigenous notion of punishment which is usually carried out in this world: 'El término castellano "condenado" encubre el concepto de justicia indígena que se aplica siempre en este y no en otro mundo' (Arguedas 1960-1961, 199),[66] thus creating a purgatory-like existence in the realm of the present. The latter may help to explain the oppression of the colonial regime, but it also offers the possibility of escape from it (Arguedas 1960-1961, 209). As Arguedas points out, the *condenado* ultimately represents a duality, persecutor and persecuted merging as one, establishing a reciprocity in suffering and achieving expiation through each other: 'el "condenado" no es un ser excluído absoluto; no es un demonio; es un ser sub-humano que sufre y destruye como medio de encontrar su redención' (Arguedas 1960-1961, 197). Subversively, therefore, this figure acquires messianic dimensions since he becomes a vehicle for collective suffering and catharsis (Arguedas 1960-1961, 204). Although these figures are usually male, Arguedas highlights two stories which feature a woman incarnating this dialectic (Arguedas 1960-1961, 197).

In many ways, *la kurku* fits the descriptions of the *condenado* in these stories. Associated with images from the natural world which equate her with the concept of *la soledad cósmica*, she comes to embody the collective experience of the community and now a natural universe (*Pachamama*) 'orphaned' after the Spanish invasion.[67] This is conveyed through her eyes but, unlike Matilde whose eyes, in association with the

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[65] Some of these stories feature voracious *ukukus* or bears, such as Juan Oso who rapes a woman and whose child, born as a bear, must kill his father in order to expiate his sin (Arguedas 1960-1961, 200-204).

[66] Arguedas emphasizes the function of the stories as warnings against transgression, hence the disproportionate nature of the punishment to the sin committed (Arguedas 1960-1961, 209).

[67] As seen, 'solitude' or rupture is experienced at both social and cosmic levels and separation seen within these universes, rather than from them (Rowe 1979, 174).

concept of *illas*, represent clarity and restore a sense of confidence, *la kurku's* are 'como si no tuvieran fondo' (p. 54) and 'insondables' (p. 411), the pain so acute that it has almost blinded her so that, like her posture, they express the dehumanizing effects of *la soledad cósmica*. Although *la kurku* comes to be equated with the concept of *illas* through her hunchback,[68] this goes towards compounding the image of her as a *condenada*: 'una desventurada...una marcada por Nuestro Señor' (p. 20). Two images of God intersect in *la kurku* as a *condenada*: one which causes suffering and of which she is a product, as the Sacristan reveals: 'Dios de los señores no es igual. Hace sufrir sin consuelo' (p. 412); 'la Gertrudis, aunque no conociendo a Dios, de Dios es...Ella ha sufrido entre los señores' (p. 412) and one which consoles, making her a vehicle of catharsis: 'Consuela al triste, hace pensar al alegre; quita de la sangre cualquier suciedad' (p. 412). This hybrid concept of God is ultimately subversive since it implicitly equates a Christian God with the oppression of the present regime and allows for the emergence of an alternative one as a focus for the community. The suggestion that *la kurku*, an *alma en pena*, is a vehicle for the suffering of the living and of 'God' himself, as Rendón suggests (p. 121), also diminishes an orthodox Christian notion of God by placing it in an Andean framework in which man, or the social, and the cosmic orders sustain each other.[69] The scene between *la kurku* and don Bruno at doña Rosario's deathbed reveals the reciprocal nature of suffering and redemption, or expiation, represented in the figure of the *condenado*. Through a recognition of mutual suffering, the 'cuchillo de hielo' (p. 211) is passed from one to the other, both characters are transformed, *la kurku* 'purified' through don Bruno who sees her in a new light, as 'mejor que yo' (p. 211): 'a medida que él reflexionaba, contemplándola, el rostro de la Gertrudis iba deshelándose, bañándose de vida, de una especie de rubor' (p. 211).[70] As a *condenada*, *la kurku* clearly represents alternative notions of spirituality in the popular Catholic imagination. This is instrumental in her

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[68] Physically deformed creatures are through analogy associated with the fragments of rock splintered by lightening. See *RP* (p.65) and José María Arguedas, 'Acerca del intenso significado de dos voces quechuas', (repr. in Arguedas 1989b, 147). The association between *illas* and *huacas* is made in José María Arguedas, 'Incorporación del toro a la cultura indígena', *Trilce*, 2 (1951), where the magical and sacred qualities of *illa* are brought about through the fusion of light and stone.

[69] This, as seen in the previous chapter, may also be equated with a process of inevitable secularization, which as seen in the previous chapter parallels Mariátegui. It implies a transformation in the notion of God which is extended in *TZ*.

[70] This has indigenous overtones, suggesting the notion of *pachacuti*, or transformation as reversal, and establishes parallels with *la opa* in *RP* who undergoes a similar metamorphosis on her deathbed through mutual suffering and expiation with Ernesto (p. 217).

acquiring a new role as socio-economic and cultural relations begin to reconfigure in San Pedro in the face of external aggression.

The expiatory role that *la kurku* has acquired in the first half of the novel combines with a new position as a vehicle of collective memory through song in the second half. Her songs undeniably represent the sentiment of *la soledad cósmica* experienced by both her and the indigenous community, her voice, like her physical demeanour, incarnating its very essence so that she comes to personify the concept of an 'orphaned' cosmology: 'el timbre era viejo...en lo profundo de esa voz extraña, Anto oía que toda la tierra se quejaba' (p. 53). The play of light and shadow on her body dramatizes the interconnection between social and cosmological levels embodied by her as she sings: 'el sol reverberaba sobre la tierra blanca del patio, alcanzaba con su luz penetrante el pequeño cuerpo de la kurku; pero la sombra del sauce también la alcanzaba con más vida' (p. 53).[71] This reciprocity between human and natural spheres is commonly represented in a particular type of song usually sung only by women: the pre-Columbian *harawi* in which a mutuality is established between the atonal sound of the women's voices and that of the earth,[72] as Arguedas points out in *Canciones quechuas*: 'Las mujeres cantaban, acompañadas siempre de los *wak'rapukus*. Yo tuve la impresión de que el mundo todo, las montañas y los cielos, la tierra, gemía, llameando...Es la expresión más intensa del hombre por comunicarse con las fuerzas sobrenaturales, por llegar a ellas y conmoverlas'.[73] These songs may transmit the sentiment of *la soledad cósmica*, therefore, but in reciprocal fashion, they also evoke *fuentes de alegría* (Arguedas 1961a)[74] by reaffirming the links between and within social and

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[71] The interplay of light and shadow also links up with the notion of *pachacuti*, as is revealed in the image of Rendón in his *varayoq* attire (p. 118) and in the description of the dance in *La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti* (1987): "Y el rayo de sol se había retirado casi hasta el techo. El padre tocaba las tijeras revolcándolas un poco en la sombra fuerte que había en el suelo", see *La agonía de Rasu-Ñiti*, in *Relatos completos*, by José María Arguedas (Lima: Editorial Horizonte, 1987), pp. 183-189, (p. 188).

[72] In Inca times, these were sung by women to men who were forced to leave their *ayllus* in order to fulfil their *mita* duties. They were also sung during funeral and agrarian work rituals (sowing or harvesting) where their imploring tone was considered vital for harnessing the energies of the dead and stimulating growth. See José María Arguedas, 'Canciones quechuas', *Revista Américas*, 9 (1957), 30-34 (p. 31).

[73] Ibid. Arguedas emphasizes time and time again the importance of Quechua, an onomatopoeic language, for conveying this concept of cosmological interpenetration. See José María Arguedas, 'La literatura quechua en el Perú', *Mar del Sur* (Lima), 1 (1948a), 46-54 (p. 48). That Arguedas himself should seek to convey this in his own writing is clearly manifest when he describes his struggle for linguistic expression through Quechua morphological and syntactical structures in 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', *Mar del Sur* (Lima), 9 (1950), 66-72 (repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174.

[74] This is also represented by Arguedas in his description of 'El canto funerario a Atahualpa': 'el hombre no pierde sus atributos sustanciales en el cautiverio o en la servidumbre; la cultura encuentra compensaciones que mantienen las fuentes de la salud, y las bases de la cultura antigua no pudieron ser totalmente destruídas' (Arguedas 1955a, 37).

cosmological orders. For *la kurku* this has cathartic implications, counteracting the diminishing effects of solitude and restoring a sense of humanity, or *alma*, as witnessed by Anto: 'Don Bruno la maltrató; le sacó el alma. Pero, seguro, a veces su alma se le acerca y es cuando ella canta' (p. 52). If this begins in the private sphere and constitutes a personal transformation, it culminates in the public realm with the acquisition of a new role with more radical transformative potential. In Lahuaymarca, *la kurku*'s songs act as rituals of catharsis, restoring confidence (the *fuentes de alegría*) by representing alternative sources of spirituality and notions of justice through autochthonous symbols.

Arguedas' anthropological thesis, as mentioned, pays little attention to the specific place of women in Sayago, but there is one important exception. This is the role of unmarried women in Bermillo as vehicles of oral memory conveyed through song and it is here that one gets a clear indication of the ability of women in an agrarian society to act at a discursive level which is symbolic in its content. The fact that it is only the girls who sing in accompaniment to their games and that they do so in a clearly demarcated area, away from the boys and in the view of other women, their mothers, marks their activity as specifically female. Singing and dancing traditional local dances such as the 'jota' (p. 116) and the 'charro' (p. 117) and acting out different roles for up to two hours, the girls fulfil an important function in Bermillo, transmitting a sense of temporal continuity through memory: 'Las niñas cumplen así un papel singular en el pueblo...Constituyen, ya lo dijimos, sus danzas, la única forma superviviente, aunque no completa, de los antiguos bailes y cantos populares. Existe, por eso, un interés emocional, de añoranza real y profunda, en los espectadores que las contemplan' (p. 135).[75]

Conveying a sense of historical continuity is particularly important in a society that has suffered violent breaks due to events such as the Civil War and market economics. One of the few manifestations of artistic activity in Bermillo, these songs, which constitute local folklore, provide a vital link with the past. This link is suggested by Arguedas through Quechua thought patterns which underscore the text, connecting

[75] Arguedas is astonished by the prodigious memory of the girls (Arguedas 1968a, 117).

light and sound through the onomatopoeia.[76] The time of day, late afternoon,[77] in which the songs are sung is seen to be crucial to the semantic content and function of the songs. The interconnection of light and sound at natural and social levels instils a sense of well-being, or *fuentes de alegría* through restored links, in the girls and spectators: 'El sol cae con hermosísima luz en el horizonte, cerca ya de las ocho...Cantan los pájaros, luminosamente, entre esos árboles y el campo sin límites. Las niñas también cantan bajo el cielo bellísimo en que un color azul dorado, resplandece y anima el corazón de estas criaturas que están ahora felices' (p. 116).[78] That Andean concepts should be applied by Arguedas to this context is significant and justified when one takes into account the common agrarian bases of both cultures. In fact, this is extended further when Arguedas makes explicit links between the two countries through personal memory stirred by the songs: 'oir el coro de las niñas me recordó el Perú musical de los Andes; las pequeñas aldeas, las comunidades' (p. 117). The interconnection of human and natural planes through memory and song causes temporal, or 'chronotopic' (Bakhtin 1994), boundaries to become blurred so that, regardless of geography, a sense of cultural continuity may be fostered. This, as will be seen in *TLS*, becomes crucial for the displaced *vecinos* of San Pedro at the close of the novel.

Attributing a social and symbolic dimension to the songs he hears in Bermillo: 'constituyen todo un lenguaje que interpreta la concepción que el hombre tiene acerca de la sociedad y del mundo' (p. 117), it is not surprising that Arguedas should attempt to transcribe all the songs he hears and note the precise effects they have on those who hear them. He does not stop at this, however, for in a typically assiduous manner he also registers the effect they have on those who transmit them. Rather than inhibiting them, Arguedas notes that performing actually makes the girls more confident and receptive to outsiders (pp. 116; 135) than the boys, enabling them to transcend previously demarcated sexual, or private-public, spheres of influence. Important parallels between

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[76] That is, *illa* with *yllu*. See José María Arguedas, 'Acerca del intenso significado de dos voces quechuas', (repr. in Arguedas 1989b, 147-149). Also *RP* (p. 65).

[77] This evokes the notion of 'luz menor' in José María Arguedas, 'Acerca del intenso significado de dos voces quechuas', (repr. in Arguedas 1989b, 149).

[78] This can be compared with a passage in *TLS* where the *puku-puku* bird-song at dusk and the *huaynos* sung by men establish a reciprocal relationship through the concept of *yllu*, or 'luz menor', suggesting the notion of *la soledad cósmica* at social and cosmological levels: 'emiten esa voz tristísima con la que el colono esclavo y todo hombre sufriente se compara en centenares de huaynos; porque el puku-puku canta de hora en hora, como un péndulo que midiera y ahondara la desolación' (p. 208).

the thesis on Sayago and *TLS* can be established, therefore, through the figure of the unmarried woman and her access to a symbolic realm through song. As mentioned, *la kurku's* songs to the dispossessed *vecinos* who pass through Lahuaymarca on their way to the capital of the province or Lima, animate the *fuentes de alegría* sustained in dialectical fashion by *la soledad cósmica*. *La kurku's* intuition is crucial for this since her songs are specifically composed, by her and the Sacristan, in response to the emotional needs of the *vecinos* and *comuneros* and in order to restore confidence. This is achieved through her ability to empathize with their plight: 'con la cabeza sobre el pecho la kurku lloraba, conteniendo los impulsos de su cuerpo, inmóvil; lloraba a torrentes' (p. 410) so that, like Matilde before her, she becomes a Mater Dolorosa, a figure of suffering with which the community can identify and placate its sorrows.

This ritual form of catharsis through song may ultimately be seen to constitute an act of *pachacuti* where *la kurku*, as a *condenada*, metamorphoses from a figure of contamination, or deviancy, to one of purity with messianic dimensions for the wider community, whilst the latter is transformed from a factious group of individuals to one with a cohesive socio-cultural, or ethnic, base. When *la kurku's* tears, as 'lágrimas de sangre' (p. 411), are associated with the concept of *yawar mayu*, indigenous sources of justice embodied in river and mountain imagery begin to emerge,[79] mobilizing the *vecinos* and *comuneros* into defying the coastal authorities. *Pachacuti*, wholesale transformation or reversal represented by the *yawar mayu*, thus replaces the sentiment of *la soledad cósmica* normally embodied in *la kurku's* songs, not by cancelling it out completely, but by reaffirming the *fuentes de alegría* contained within it. As in the stories of Lucanamarca, millenarian dimensions are established through concepts of time where temporal demarcations become suspended.[80]

Like the girls in Bermillo whose performance in singing gives them mobility outside the private sphere to which they are usually bound, *la kurku's* singing is instrumental in granting her a new role outside the framework of the *hacienda*. If performance redefines gender roles, it also adds to the semantic content and function of

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[79] In *RP* the image of *yawar mayu* is embodied in the lower walls of the Palacio de Inca Roca in Cuzco (p. 4). Chapter One (p. 5) of this novel gives a definition of this concept.

[80] As mentioned, in these stories the present, seen as a 'purgatory', constitutes an intermediate zone, or confluence, between present and future orders.

the songs. Like Carmen Taripha[81] and the *mestizo* musicians, Gregorio in *TLS*, or Jaime Guardia and Raúl García, who transmit their stories and songs through their physical gestures, *la kurku* conveys the meaning of the *harawis* through her delivery of them, her tears literally constituting the semantic content of her songs to the *vecinos*.[82] Whilst the content of these songs remains magical, since they still operate within the framework of *la soledad cósmica*, their function acquires secular dimensions, since they are used to defy the coastal authorities. This too is reflected in the work of *mestizo* artisans who, whilst operating within the parameters of indigenous cultural symbols are also able to respond to new socio-economic and cultural demands. This is seen as inevitable and necessary for wide cultural appeal and survival by Arguedas, who describes the secularization of the *huaylas*, a harvest dance, in the following terms: 'Lo mágico se transforma en popular y así se hace más permanente, se desintegra de lo religioso...para convertirse en un medio de expresión de inquietudes más universales en cuanto que no están ya vinculadas a creencias particulares sino a sentimientos comunes.'[83]

In the previous chapters, two *wankas* have been mentioned in conjunction with the work-cycle: one accompanying the construction of the new terraces in Lahuaymarca and the other complementing the ploughing in Paraybamba. These *wankas*, like the *ayla* sung during the annual cleaning of the irrigation canals, constitute erotico-religious rites in which the work of the young men and the singing of unmarried women parallel and assist in the act of growth in the natural world by harnessing the 'ánimo' (Gose 1994, 113; 137), or creative forces of the dead buried in the soil along with the seed.[84] The *wanka* also shares the imploring tone of the *harawi* sung to the dead during funerals so that ultimately, like the latter, it becomes a ritual affirmation of life, that is growth, over, or through, death.[85] Harris suggests that unmarried women convert nature or the 'wild'

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[81] The recounting of *condenado* stories by this figure is seen as an interpretative and creative act, described on a number of occasions by Arguedas. See José María Arguedas, 'Canciones quechuas', *Revista Américas*, 9 (1957), 30-34 (p. 34) and 'Los himnos quechuas católicos cuzqueños', *Folklore Americano*, 3 (1955a), 3-48 (p. 40) and *FZ* (p. 14).

[82] *La kurku's* tears are equated with a regaining of sight, paralleled by the image of the dove which overcomes its blindness. The implication is that *la kurku*, in conjunction with the *vecinos*, has acquired new vision through catharsis and an allegiance to autochthonous sources of justice. This overturns previous descriptions of her eyes as 'insondables' (p. 411).

[83] José María Arguedas, 'Navidad y huaylas, de lo mágico a lo nacional', *El Comercio*, 22 January 1967, p. 27.

[84] Usually the dead ancestors are reincorporated into society during the sowing season, in November, and are dispatched just before the harvest at the time of Carnival, between February and March (Harris 1992, 81).

[85] Arguedas shows how some *harawis*, such as that to the dead Atahuallpa, are also called *wankas*, (Arguedas 1955a, 36). He also shows how an elision is made between the *harawi* and the *wanka* in Cuzco: 'El tipo de canción que en el área chanka se denomina *harawi*, en el área cuzqueña se llama ahora *wanka*' (Arguedas 1955a, 28).

into 'culture', or socialized patterns of behaviour, through the symbolic discourse represented by song (1992, 72-77).[86] Combined with the men's work, the *wanka* transforms an otherwise barren terrain into cultivated plots of land. Many of the elements associated with these *harawis* and *wankas* were incorporated in the hymns written by Franciscan priests for the purpose of conversion. The hymns were intoned in a similar manner and accompanied by women crying.[87] In his study of Quechua Catholic hymns, Arguedas distinguishes between those written by Franciscan priests and those composed by *mestizos* who resemanticized their content, Quechuanizing and in many ways secularizing it, by employing agricultural as well as biblical imagery, just as the *mestizo* artisans did with their *retablos*. According to Arguedas this not only invests the songs with new meaning (Arguedas 1955a, 26), but re-emphasizes their indigenous content: 'Las composiciones más antiguas de este género conservan un cáracter ciertamente erudito que va diluyéndose, hasta que los himnos católicos más recientes son de naturaleza muy indígena, escritos en un quechua popular, de tal manera que tienen el estilo de los cantos folklóricos.'[88] Whilst the Franciscan hymns instil a sense of fatality in the community by evoking fear and guilt,[89] the *mestizo* hymns promote a sense of release by enhancing images of a consoling Marian figure. Crucially, whilst operating within a framework of *la soledad cósmica*, the *fuentes de alegría* are thus re-activated through catharsis: 'Estos himnos tienen la virtud de ahondar el dolor causado por los padecimientos terrenos y de abrir los cauces del llanto, del desahogo final. Provocan una deflagración pasional. El creyente sale en seguida, del templo al campo, o la plaza, renovado; comtempla el paisaje, sonriente, y ya está como fortalecido para continuar soportando todo tipo de miseria' (Arguedas 1955a, 42).[90]

As *la kurku* sings and weeps, the *vecinos* undergo a similar act of catharsis: 'lloraban, no por desconsuelo, sino desahogándose, despejándose de la oprimente rabia

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[86] Women, like *Pachamama*, embody the nature-culture duality, *Pachamama* representing both cultivated and uncultivated land. As such they are 'polysemic' (Harris 1992, 86). As intercessors, mediating between this duality, and as the Moon or wife of the Sun-god, asking for protection or pardon, they are also 'transitive' (Harris 1992, 86).

[87] This is vividly represented by Arguedas in his description of a church service in Huaraz (Arguedas 1948a, 48-49).

[88] José María Arguedas, 'Sobre la poesía quechua', in *Ollantay. Cantos y narraciones quechuas*, ed. by José María Arguedas, César Miró and Sebastián Salazar Bondy (Lima: Patronato del Libro Peruano, 1957), pp. 53-57 (p. 53).

[89] 'Los himnos quechuas católicos cuzqueños', *Folklore Americano*, 3 (1955a), 3-48 (p. 40) and José María Arguedas, 'Sobre la poesía quechua', in *Ollantay. Cantos y narraciones quechuas*, ed. by José María Arguedas, César Miró and Sebastián Salazar Bondy (Lima: Patronato del Libro Peruano, 1957), pp. 53-57 (p. 55)

[90] An echo of this may be found in Arguedas (1948a, 49).

su sangre. Fueron sintiéndose limpios, decididos, listos para irse a luchar en cualquier pueblo' (p. 411), their suffering transformed into a source of resistance so that they feel 'tranquilos, casi felices' (p. 411). Passing through Lahuaymarca thus constitutes a rite of passage where *la kurku*, assisted by the Sacristan, sings triumphant hymns which restore the *vecinos'* sense of confidence and assuage their *rabia* (p. 427).[91] This ultimately stems from the re-established link between the *vecinos* and their land through memory stirred by the song: 'con la memoria ya pura e inapagable de su pueblo, de su campo hermoso de maíz, de ese andén hecho por Dios' (p. 411), so that just as the *wankas* accompanying the building of the new terraces and the ploughing harness the energy of the dead from the soil and use it for resistance against the soldiers, this *harawi* also provides, or restores, a telluric base for defiance against the coastal order. Framed by the archetypalizing discourse of *la soledad cósmica*, the *harawi*, and the memory of the land evoked by it, reinforces the cultural bases of an otherwise ethnically fragmented community. The final words of Arguedas' essay on *la soledad cósmica*, written in 1961, presage in more ways than one, therefore, the image of the restored *vecinos* in *TLS*: 'en las comunidades con tierras y vías de comunicación todo se transforma hacia la modernidad, pero con un perdurable tinte indígena. Y la soledad, el llamado "dolor cósmico," sigue creciendo y también transformándose...Puede surgir de este magma otra vez, un verdadero mundo nuevo, fruto directo y legítimo, nueva llama de una tradición milenaria cuya hondura no ha de ser posible llenar únicamente con cemento y lágrimas.'

[91] This reflects the effect of the *zumbayllu* on Ernesto in *RP* (p. 89) and parallels the resurgence of the *colonos* at the novel's close (pp. 240-242).

Conclusions

i) Ritual in History and Literature

When one reads a novel like *TLS* in conjunction with ethnographic texts such as Arguedas' anthropological thesis and work on Puquio and the Mantaro valley, one can see not just how fluid the boundaries between genres are but how, by interlocking, these genres contribute to the interpretation of each other. I have tried to show how Arguedas' knowledge of the Andean region, arising from personal and professional experience, was indispensable to his literary writing, not only enabling him to expand the geocultural framework of his novels, as Cornejo Polar (1973, 20; 252-255) and more recently Flores Galindo (1992, 20-22; 38) have pointed out, but stimulating further production (Murra 1986, 6). By focusing first on nomenclature, in the sense of the terms characters use to identify themselves and others, I have attempted to reveal how the novel explores the nuances of social stratification and the ambiguities of ethnic identity and relations in the Andean region. The second stage has been to link this nomenclature to systems of land tenure and labour relations for, as the thesis on Zamora highlights, in a predominantly agrarian society how much land one owns and how one works it, or whether one works it, determines one's position in the local system of stratification. This reveals just how closely socio-cultural and economic factors coincide although, when one comes to a novel such as *TLS* and a region such as the southern Andes, one sees that these are compounded by the issue of ethnicity. The *casta* system of Zamora, *señoritos* posited against *vecinos*, therefore, is complicated in *TLS* as it displays the infinite levels and possibilities of socio-cultural and economic relations in the southern *sierra* of Peru.

If local land and labour configurations determine what is ultimately one's ethnic identity in the Andes, that is a non-class and non-race specific identity but one combining elements of each, the fact that these are in a state of flux suggests that possibilities for renegotiating old and new identities are generated. Ultimately, the ability to react to changing socio-economic conditions through selective appropriation and re-elaboration enables particular individuals and groups to resist and survive

acculturation. I have attempted to show, for example, how ritual attitudes towards work, such as the *faena*, provide a cultural framework within which particular groups may operate to retain a sense of identity whilst responding to changing circumstances. This notion of ritual is then extended to practices such as the defence of land and community to reveal its use as a general structuring principle and the inextricability of socio-cultural and economic elements.

When literary and anthropological discourses merge in a desire to attribute symbolic resonance to specific economic and social conditions and responses to them or, more accurately, in order to work within the symbolic repertoire of the culture being represented, the author must exercise a Bakhtinian 'chronotopic imagination' (Morson and Emerson 1990, 416). That is, he must be able to work within particular, and often various, space-time configurations. For Bakhtin, the novel becomes the most appropriate medium for the interaction, or dialogism, of these chronotopes, and the same can be said for Arguedas. By choosing a literary format, in the shape of *TLS*, and interweaving anthropological concerns and ethnographic material, Arguedas not only reveals the simultaneity of these disciplines or genres, but the simultaneity of chronotopes within them. I have suggested that these chronotopes permit intersections of historicist and archetypalizing discourses and that these correlate with particular ways of perceiving historical development. By viewing specific actors and events through the optic of what Braudel calls 'la longue durée' (1980, 25), Arguedas is not only able to reveal temporal diachronism but work with it to attribute archetypal dimensions to particular individuals and practices. What emerges, therefore, is a hybrid genre which combines scientific and non-scientific elements and different space-time frameworks, enabling the author to create a more totalizing image, as Arguedas himself infers of the novel: 'en *Todas las sangres* está todo el Perú envuelto en esta lucha, y no solamente está el Perú sino un poco los grandes poderes que manejan al Perú y todos los países pequeños en todas las partes del mundo'(Arguedas 1986a, 240).

The thematic concerns for social stratification and ritual, and the method employed, a fusion of ethnographic and literary techniques, may be seen in an attenuated form from the beginning of Arguedas' literary career. That Pantaleoncha in *Agua* can be seen as a prototype for Rendón has already been suggested, but it is

principally in the novels that Arguedas is able to explore the themes later dealt with in *TLS*. Bourricaud (1958; 1970) and Montoya (1980b; 1991a/b) have already carried out social scientific and literary analyses of *YF* based on their own field-work in Puquio, and have highlighted the accuracy with which Arguedas represents the social complexity of a 'pueblo grande' [1] in the southern *sierra*. The traditional power of the provincial elite, represented by don Julián, presaging the appearance of don Bruno in *TLS*, is contested by indigenous and *mestizo* groups from the four *ayllus* surrounding Puquio, representatives of the central administration and migrants from the coast. The position of the *cholos*, explored in Chapter Three, reveals the ever increasing ethnic heterogeneity of groups as road links with the capital are opened up. The return of migrant *cholos* to Puquio, meanwhile, unleashes a conflict within the ranks of the *misti* sector now forced to take sides over the government ban of the bullfight. Against the splintering of ethnic allegiances, accentuated by the ensuing bullfight, a parallel process of cultural identification and solidarity emerges as *serrano* groups join forces in the defence of what ultimately represents a ritual form of conduct.

The *turupukllay* at the end of *YF*, performed in ritual mode as the presence of the *tankayllu dansak'* reveals, highlights the capacity for affinity between Indian and *misti* communities as they seek an affirmation of identity through shared cultural metaphors. This finds a parallel in *RP* where Ernesto's *zumbayllu* acts as a uniting principle on both personal and social levels as the novel's drama fans out from the school patio to the Huanupata district and beyond. For Ernesto, Abancay represents a quasi-feudal order of intense socio-economic and cultural divides, the *colonos* being dehumanized and forced to live on the fringes of society. The *zumbayllu*, brought by the Spanish and adapted to the Andean milieu, rendering it *winku*, or deformed, represents a hybrid image and magical mediator. With it, Ernesto is able to engage in a transformative ritual which operates on the basis of reciprocity or *ayni*. By imitating the movement of the spinning top and using it as a communicative instrument, Ernesto simultaneously asserts and transcends his cultural identity, reactualizing the moment of encounter between two cultures and renegotiating the possibilities of coexistence. When a revolt erupts in the

1 'La novela y el problema de la expresión literaria en el Perú', *Mar del Sur* (Lima), 9 (1950), 66-72 (repr. in *Yawar fiesta* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1977), pp. 165-174 (p. 168)).

ethnically mixed mercantile sector of Huanupata, the wind also comes to mirror the movement of the *zumbayllu* as it spins in the school yard (p. 104), highlighting the growing cosmological dimensions of the ritual. The spinning top, therefore, like the bull and the subsequent fight in *YF*, dramatizes both the socio-cultural diversity of Andean society and the possibilities of integration. From an ethnographic point of view, the rituals stand as metaphors for the symbolic capital of a transformed Andean culture and the functioning of magical-religious thought within it.

The ritual modes of conduct which pervade Arguedas' novels and contribute to the process of archetypalization which I have pointed to in *TLS*, that is the linking up with a long-view of history and the attributing of symbolic dimensions to characters and practices which are seen to operate at this level, are also represented in the fractured world of Chimbote in Arguedas' last novel. The latter combines the ritual concepts of movement and work found in *RP* and *TLS* respectively. When Esteban in *EZ* decides to cough up the carbon in his lungs contracted from the Cocalón mines, he begins his meticulous fight against death, daily weighing out the carbon he spits onto a piece of paper (p. 159). Having worked in the *sierra*, coast and jungle, Esteban represents the heterogeneous experience of the *serrano* migrant worker, his ejection of the carbon constituting a symbolic act of self-purification and an attempt to rid the nation of the corruption and oppression associated with capitalist work relations.[2] This culminates in the foxes' 'centrifugal' dance in the fishmeal factory (Lienhard 1981, 140-145). The *Zorro de arriba*, anthropomorphized as Diego, initiates a dance in which he is transformed into a *danzak'*, imitating the movement of the machinery. The association of the metal tubes with worms reveals an Andean world through the image of the *amaru*, whilst their spiralling movement both parallels and is paralleled by Diego's dance (p. 120). This dialogism, which culminates in Diego 'dancing' the machines (Rowe 1990, 339), marks the penetration of western technology by magical-religious thought and negotiates the possibilities of operating within a ritual framework to ensure cultural continuity.

In *TLS*, Arguedas examines the bases for the emergence of an indigenous leadership through the figure of Rendón Willka who has experience of seasonal

[2] This is affirmed by his cousin: 'Volteas carbón mundo; limpio, nada metal gringo queda, bandera piruano' (p. 160).

migration. Arguedas reveals this character's leadership qualities through his defence of land which rests, crucially, on his ability to organize the Indian work-force. From the outset of the novel, it can be seen that Rendón's concept of labour rests on a communal work ethos, *ayni* or *mink'a*, which challenges capitalist notions based on surplus value. Having tilled a communally owned land for centuries, the *comuneros* see the fruit of their labour belonging to the *ayllu* as a whole. They substitute personal ambition and capitalist relations with co-operative work methods. This emphasis on communal work as the only legitimate way to earn a living, an *alma* or a *corazón*, pervades the novel, such that money not earned in this way is equated with corruption. The working relationship between the *colonos* of La Providencia and the *comuneros* of Paraybamba is an example of this type of work. In return for the *colonos* of La Providencia giving them food, through *mink'a*, the *comuneros* of Paraybamba till the land of those sent to work the mine. This restores their sense of commonality, establishing what Gose (1994, 113) would call a 'moral connection' which ultimately helps to reinstate them as a free community in the face of encroaching landowners. The full implications of Rendón's leadership role, meanwhile, are revealed when he takes charge of don Bruno's *colonos* and is made chief of don Fermín's mine. Although the forced work, or *mita*, in the Apark'ora mine may be seen as potentially dehumanizing, Arguedas takes pains to show how the *comuneros'* ritual concept of communal work, *faena*, earns them the respect of the other workers. It is the capacity to work alongside the miners that concerns Rendón for it means that both groups, traditionally kept apart by the *hacendado*, are now brought together.

Significantly, the work in the mine also becomes a means by which to combat fear or religious fatality in the indigenous community. When Cabrejos sends Gregorio to the mine to imitate the sound of the *amaru*, in an attempt to manipulate the *colonos'* beliefs against them, only the other workers show any sign of fear. The *colonos*, by acting on a collective basis, show their ability to surmount social (the *mita* work) and now magical-religious obstacles. This scene parallels others in Arguedas' work. The episode can be seen, like the capture of Misitu in *YF* and the defeat of the plague in *RP*, as another example of the surmounting of what Escobar in *YF* terms 'el temor mítico' (p. 134). Through this victory, the *colonos* recover their commonality, which forms an important basis for future action, such as the defiance of Cisneros, Cabrejos and the

Consorcio. By uniting the Indians through work, Rendón has channelled their strength to fight on in the face of magical-religious beliefs that could be used against them. Furthermore, as endorsed by Mariátegui, focusing the social conscience of protagonists by working within rather than against a mythical framework, points to the future possibility of fighting for more secular goals.

I have been arguing that in *TLS* Arguedas reveals the role of Andean ritual modes of conduct and conceptual frameworks in providing cohesion and the possibility of resistance to an otherwise fractured and incapacitated culture, and that this goes hand in hand with *comuneros* assuming their ethnic identity by forming autonomous *ayllus* through communal land and labour ties. In this way the indigenous community is able to transcend the negative implications of magical-religious beliefs, that is, fear or religious fatality, and use them as a framework to fight for social goals. Arguedas' interest lies in groups which are able to adjust to changing socio-economic and cultural conditions. Those who are unchanging in their outlook and conduct, such as Cisneros and Cabrejos, who want to impose a system which will protect only their own interests, fall by the wayside. It is only those with a capacity for change that survive in the novel, whilst some characters reveal a greater capacity for this than others and contribute to the forging of a new cultural system.

As social actors renegotiate their identities and build alliances with previous antagonistic groups, they establish a reciprocity. Those who were previously *colonos*, therefore, become *comuneros*, through the mediating influence of figures such as Rendón, with land and cultural rites to protect. Whilst the *vecinos* lend their support by opposing the Sub-prefect and his soldiers, in reciprocal fashion the Lahuaymarcas show their allegiance by working the lands of La Esmeralda. The restoration of productivity through communal work re-establishes the social and cosmological equilibrium necessary for future resistance. Therefore, although Arguedas and Rendón's vision of a future society may rest on the *ayllu* as a viable socio-economic and cultural unit, it is not the *ayllu* of a past Arcadia as Vargas Llosa (1978; 1996) would have us believe. Instead it is a structure which is capable of selectively retaining certain practices, such as communal land tenure and co-operative work methods, whilst adapting to modernity, such as private landownership, involvement in the market and education, all things

Arguedas witnessed in the *comuneros* of Puquio. What Arguedas appears to be emphasizing is that the traditional Andean concept of work is not only applicable to contemporary economic activities but actually more efficient than many western methods of work and should be retained in certain contexts. This is reflected in Rendón's vision of establishing a modern society on traditional Andean values such as the capacity of the collective group and a sustainable, non-exploitative attitude towards the natural world, in this case, the mine.

If each of Arguedas' novels develop different stages in the politicization of the Indian community, *TLS* also explores the way in which a culture functions within a hostile economic system in order to make meaningful survival possible. If the novel presents a possible antidote to economic imperialism, a national form of capitalism based on the fishmeal industry, it also represents a means of combating cultural imperialism by examining the ways in which ritual forms of conduct contribute to the survival of a culture. The rituals of daily life not only humanize but socialize their actors by placing them in contact with each other and by obliging them to negotiate their ethnic allegiances and oppositions. This does not lead so much to the political transformation of society but rescues certain groups from cultural obscurity. However tenuous this victory may seem to some, Arguedas works within an Andean framework of the symbolic in order to show how it is compatible with western or 'modern' mind-sets. This framework, embodied in the image of the *yawar mayu*, or river of blood, suggested by the novel's title, not only incorporates the *comuneros'* social and cosmological spheres by the denouement, but includes unionized workers and reveals the stirrings of a social revolution.

In the context of a post-Conquest 'crisis of destructuration' (Wachtel 1977, 205), the emergence of a symbolic discourse as an integrating force in the Andean region acquires new salience and is used by Arguedas to suggest cohesion and create a totalizing effect, reflecting a view of myth inherited from Mariátegui. This symbolic discourse rests on the interconnection of social and cosmological orders, with social structures paralleling cosmological ones and vice versa. For example, the *varayoq* or local government system within the *ayllu* and the role of the mountains, *apus*, which govern over lesser deities in the cosmological sphere, mirror one another (Earls 1969, 68-69).

This interrelation of social and cosmological spheres is embedded in the Andean concept of *pacha,* or space-time, which operates on the basis of diurnal and seasonal alternation, thus linking up with the notion of *pachacuti* and revolving time. Because the seasons alternate cosmologically, bringing rain or sun, and socially, or agriculturally, through the sowing and harvesting of crops, time is also spatial, representing the locus or site of change as well as its duration. Cyclical time in Andean culture, therefore, rests on this principle of temporal and spatial alternation or duality.

This notion of cyclical time based on a principle of duality is incarnated in certain mythical figures who act as mediating forces between opposite spheres. One such figure is that of the decapitated *Inkarrí,* who represents a fusion of pre- and post-Columbian belief systems. Associated with the Inca, he represents the Sun and the king-deities Pachacutec, Atahuallpa and Túpac Amaru I and II, the latter both beheaded by the Spanish. Associated with Christ, he represents martyrdom, resurrection and restoration. It is no wonder, therefore, that the syncretic image of *Inkarrí* has had powerful implications for the emergence of a messianic discourse of resistance in the Andes. By associating Rendón Willka with *Inkarrí,* Arguedas is able to ascribe symbolic dimensions to him, transforming him into a figure of 'la longue durée' (Braudel 1980, 25) and thus represent a messianic and millenarian language of resistance. As arbitrators or figures of justice, military leaders, like the *varayoq,* are associated with mountains, alternately bringing earthquakes and floods or health and prosperity. In post-Columbian times, these figures of justice, encapsulated in the image of *Inkarrí,* have been fractured or mutilated due to the arrival of the Spanish. The restoration of justice, therefore, is closely dependent on the restoration or reconstitution of the figure of justice and this is in turn projected into the future. Death, such as Rendón's in the novel, is incorporated in this notion of future restoration, forming an important basis for continued resistance.

The notion of cyclical or dual time and the inclusion of a sense of futurity results in a millenarian discourse, as mentioned, and relies heavily on ritual modes of conduct. Time, as Eliade points out, is simultaneously perpetuated and 'abolished' (1989, 35) through rituals which ascribe to archetypal acts and personages. If ritual practices operate on the basis of association, imitation and repetition, they reveal a mental framework or mind-set which perpetuates a notion of cyclical time. The interrelation of

these concepts and the reader's ability to perceive them, relies on a processual and diachronic temporal perspective. What Arguedas is doing, therefore, is not only highlighting the existence of these mind-sets through time, but actually engaging in them and working them into the fabric of his novel.

ii) Interlocking Disciplines

Through historicist and archetypalizing discourses, Arguedas is able to reveal the simultaneity of mental processes and cultural practices. This of course is the essence of the novel which, according to Bakhtin, not only reflects 'chronotopicity' (1994, 251), or the interweaving of different space-time frameworks, but actively reproduces it at a textual level. In Arguedas' work, these space-time frameworks combine with anthropological and literary epistemologies based on interconnecting elements such as science and testimony, objectivity and subjectivity. Combining anthropological techniques, such as participant-observation and comparative analysis, with literary devices, such as intuition, which stems partly from experience and partly from imagination, and conflation, which comes from mentally combining elements from different spatial and temporal areas, and using these in both his literary and anthropological work, Arguedas is able to redraw the frontiers between genres. More accurately, by fusing imagination and ethnography regardless of genre, Arguedas was able to defy the premises on which social scientific and literary discourses were based in Peru at that time.

With regards to *TLS*, this rather expressionistic approach challenged realist or regionalist descriptions of the novel, pointing to a notion of artistic conception which transcended such aims altogether. This calls to mind Thomas Hardy's claims when he rejected realist intent in his novels: 'art is a disproportioning of realities, to show more clearly the features that matter in those realities, which, if merely copied or reported inventorially, might possibly be observed, but would more probably be overlooked' (1985, 18-19).[3] The elements most likely to be 'overlooked' in the modern era, the

[3] This echoes some of the points made in the debate on realism and literary representation at the *Primer encuentro de narradores peruanos* (Arguedas 1986a), explored in detail in Chapter One.

survival of pre-modern forms of conduct and thought processes alongside twentieth century technology and commerce, are revealed in Arguedas' work precisely by Arguedas integrating himself in conflicting but ultimately complementary frameworks and 'disproportioning' their elements through selective appropriation and re-elaboration. This enabled him to attribute archetypal resonance to particular practices and actors, whilst retaining a degree of spatial and temporal verisimilitude.

The notion of working within interlocking disciplines, genres and chronotopes, practised by Arguedas throughout his career, but which is more in evidence in his anthropological thesis and *TLS*, was at the heart of the series of *Mesa redondas* organized by the *I.E.P.* in 1965. The idea, as Bravo Bresani pointed out in his introduction to the first of these, as mentioned in Chapter Two, was to explore the ways in which the social sciences and literature could benefit from each other, placing particular emphasis on the contributions of intuition, subjectivity and imagination in the study of national realities: 'sabemos que el arte es una forma de conocimiento y un lenguaje simbólico. Que la intuición del artista proporciona reconstrucciones ideales cuya lógica interna es semejante a la realidad...Conocemos también la penetración analítica encerrada en la metáfora, muchas de las cuales...desvelan antes que el análisis científico la esencia de los comportamientos humanos' (1966, 183). Interestingly enough, however, it is precisely these elements which were criticized in the following debate on *TLS*. That the latter should now be judged from the point of view of the social sciences, that is, that it should be found lacking in qualities much lauded by sociologists such as scientific objectivity, not only reveals the rigidity of the social scientists' outlook, but the monopoly the latter had over academic discourses at the time. Bravo Bresani's calls to take into account alternative ways of exploring and revealing national reality were completely ignored. The importance of this debate for both the social sciences and literature is only just coming to light as new methodologies emerge which take an explicitly interdisciplinary approach. The debate reveals the indispensability of such an approach not only in the analysis of a novel and of social realities, but of a novel consciously setting out to explore these realities, as *TLS* does.

Both the debate and the novel, therefore, highlight the need for a new way of thinking about social and cultural realities. Escobar comes closest to articulating this

when he points out that the conflicts in *TLS* cannot be read in a linear fashion: 'aparecen mezclados, confundidos, resquebrajados...Y es precisamente esta *con*-fusión, este mundo desarticulado y desintegrado, el que para mí es el testimonio de la confusión mental, real y social, que es el Perú de hoy día.'[4] The need to take a more plural approach, what Rochabrún calls 'pensando lo múltiple' (1992, 27), in the analysis of sociological and literary practices, coincides with a view of reality which Lienhard (1994) describes through the notion of 'diglosia cultural'. Applying Bakhtin's (1994) concept of 'diglosia' to social processes, Lienhard sees it as a non-reductionist formula to reveal the 'hybridity' (1994, 97) and 'asymmetry' (1994, 99) of cultural relations in post-colonial settings. Because cultural practices always involve a degree of selection and re-elaboration by those involved in them and are always rooted in specific contexts, subjectivity and plurality become key components not only in their constitution but in their analysis.

Geertz (1973) and Clifford's (1986) calls for a revalidation of the role of the imagination and the placing of the observer as much as the observed under scrutiny, have done much to open up the field of enquiry to reveal the subjective forces at play in all descriptions of cultural practices. The avowedly 'actor-oriented' (Geertz 1973, 14) approach which each espouses calls for a more self-conscious approach by social scientists, in which the latter become both 'novelists' and 'literary critics'. This, on the other hand, whilst constituting a valid appeal, may run the risk of reinforcing the central position of the anthropologist at the expense of his referents. Placing too much emphasis on the anthropologist's subjectivity, therefore, can end up marginalizing alternative conceptual frameworks and mind-sets. This is something the current of *neo-indigenismo* is attempting to redress. By 'de-anthropologizing' themselves, or presenting themselves as 'subjects of their own anthropology', to paraphrase Sánchez Parga (1990, 100-105), politicized indigenous groups in Latin America have taken Geertz's precept of 'actor-orientation' as their own, working within interlocking frameworks, the author-actors' as much as his or her referents'.

[4] See Escobar's intervention at the *Mesa redonda* on *TLS* in *Mesa redonda sobre Todas las sangres*, (unpublished transcription by Guillermo Rochabrún S., Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1991), p. 11; or Arguedas (1985, 32-33).

In post-colonial societies where the pace of change in the industrial arena is not always accompanied by changes in mentalities or where, as a result of a mixed economic landscape, pre-modern modes of thought and practices run alongside twentieth century technological advances and their secular or 'profane' ways of thinking, the resulting contradictions are ones which writers and sociologists must grapple with at both thematic and methodological levels. It is only by taking this hybrid approach oneself that one can begin to discern Arguedas' objective, particularly in the novel *TLS*. The very 'chronotopic dialogism', to paraphrase Bakhtin (1994, 254), of this novel, the arrangement of interconnecting spatial and temporal frameworks, the simultaneous functioning of short and long-time spans, the continuing presence of ritual thought processes and modes of conduct alongside the flux and fluidity brought by roads, markets and migration, functions much like a kaleidoscope where a series of different coloured glasses fit together in infinite configurations. The study of this confluence of realities has only recently entered the academic forum in Peru through the work of *Sur* and the *Tempo* workshops, led by Portocarrero et al. That Arguedas should have been a precursor to these new ways of perceiving and configuring social reality attests to his capacity for far-sightedness and innovation.

One can see how close anthropology and literature come to one another when one reads a novel like *TLS* which reveals the importance of taking both socio-economic, land and labour configurations, and cultural factors, such as pre-modern thought and ritual forms of conduct, into account in the analysis of identities and practices. The fact that the former are in a state of flux in the Andean region suggests the latter too are fluid and changeable, but within this context, a symbolic discourse, or process of archetypalization, emerges as a structuring device linking socio-economic and cultural elements and establishing spatial and temporal continuities. In a context of peasant land invasions, Arguedas looks at the ways the indigenous peasantry works within certain frameworks to resemanticize cultural symbols and metaphors. Reciprocity is re-established between Indian communities through work and trade ties, collective work obligations are restored and pre-Columbian terraces are revived. These contribute to the consolidation of the *ayllu* as the cornerstone of the Andean socio-economic and cultural system, an *ayllu* whose inhabitants, like those of Puquio and the Mantaro valley, build

roads, houses and schools. Arguedas witnessed the response by groups, however isolated, to changing socio-economic conditions in Zamora, Spain, so that by the time he wrote *TLS* he was able to portray a similar pattern of cultural negotiations and continuities. The capacity for mutual interaction, involving readjustment and transformation was also evidenced in the valley of Mantaro.

Through a process of comparative analysis, therefore, Zamora and the Mantaro valley not only enabled Arguedas to imaginatively construct a region which he regarded as representative of the Andean area, but to view it in dynamic articulation with the nation as a whole. This spatial connectedness, the interplay between the region and the outside world, is compounded by temporal interconnection between change and relative immutability, the collective values of traditional society, evidenced in childhood years and subsequent fieldwork, set against the inevitability and necessity of change. The interpenetration of past and present establishes lines of continuity from one to another. By revealing the presence of a symbolic discourse and ritual modes of conduct, which in an agrarian society serve to placate the powers of nature and ensure the continuing cycle of the seasons, Arguedas shows not only their survival in contemporary society, but their functional necessity in societies where the past guarantees or acts as an 'enabler' of the future. And thus even James Frazer, that nineteenth century proponent of Enlightened reasoning, had to concede that so-called 'modern thought' was traversed by multiple temporal lines, his image of this as a 'web woven of three different threads', that is, magic, religion and science, standing as a fitting metaphor for Arguedas' own artistic conception: 'to a web thus chequered and stained, thus shot with threads of diverse hues, but gradually changing colour the farther it is unrolled, the state of modern thought, with all its divergent aims and conflicting tendencies, may be compared' (1996, 713).

The coalescence of anthropological and literary elements is necessary in this endeavour, since what Arguedas is striving for is an image of reality which will mark the reader profoundly. Whether *TLS* represents what Salazar Bondy calls 'arte de palabras', where 'lo social es eco de lo verbal' (1965, 20), or what Escobar terms 'una articulación multitudinaria y polivalente' (1976, 298), which pushes back the frontiers previously drawn by *indigenista* writers, or even an attempt at a 'literatura imposible' in

the words of Borel (1984, 77), the role played by anthropology is indispensable in revealing new ways of mapping social realities for Arguedas. On a thematic level too, the need to establish a non-local or broad ethnic base through mutual identification and transformation, something Arguedas witnessed in the field, is translated into fictional terms when he writes *TLS*. The creative implications of the alliance between these two epistemologies were manifold for Arguedas, but are only just coming to light for his critics.

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